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E. W. BRABROOK, Esq., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The deaths of Dr. WILBERFORCE SMITH and Captain T. KEENE were announced.

Mr. H. W. SETON-KARR exhibited and made remarks upon a collection of Stone Implements discovered by him in Somaliland (see *ante* page 65).

The following papers were read :—

"The Cranial Characteristics of the South Saxons compared with those of some of the other Races of Great Britain." By R. J. HORTON-SMITH, Esq.

"Recent Observations on the Andamanese by Mr. M. V. PORTMAN." By Dr. J. G. GARSON.

"Photographic Apparatus for Travellers." By Dr. J. G. GARSON.

"An unpublished Batak Creation Legend." By HERR C. M. PLEYTE.

VOL. XXVI.

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The CRANIAL CHARACTERISTICS of the SOUTH SAXONS compared with those of some of the other races of SOUTH BRITAIN.
By R. J. HORTON-SMITH, B.A., Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

OWING to the obscurity that exists with regard to the various races that have from time to time invaded the British Isles, it seemed advisable to make use of the splendid collection of British skulls in the museum at Cambridge, to see how far they could be grouped together by a study of their cranial features. With this object I have examined fourteen South Saxon skulls found at Goring in Sussex and presented to the Cambridge Museum by C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A. With these were found many Saxon ornaments, proving the skulls to be undoubtedly of early Saxon age. Besides these, I have measured twenty West Saxon skulls, which were dug up in various parts of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset, as well as two "Celts-Saxon" skulls from Fairford (Gloucestershire), fourteen Round Barrow skulls, and lastly, twenty-three East Anglian skulls. Most of these last came from Hauxton; five, however, were found in Cambridge itself.

South Saxon skulls.

Of these fourteen skulls, ten are males and three females. The remaining one belonged to a child, of the female sex, I believe, though of this I cannot be quite certain. About half are in a good state of preservation; the rest are rather fragmentary, but do not differ, as far as one can see, in any important respect from the more perfect specimens. Three of these crania were so broken that it was impossible to get any of the usual indices from them. I have calculated the indices of the child, but of course they have not been included in the attempt to deduce the typical indices. These have been drawn from the remaining ten skulls. It is a small number, but there were no more at my disposal.

Cranial capacity.—There is a fairly close resemblance between the various crania, as regards their capacity. I was only able to take the capacities of five of them (all males), but four of these agree almost exactly in being just megacephalic, with an index of 1480. This is a good deal below that of the modern English skull, which, according to Topinard, is about 1560. The index of the fifth skull does approach this latter figure, being, in fact, as high as 1570; but the lower figure is certainly the most typical. It is in all probability to the Round Barrow race and the East Anglians that we owe the larger size of our

crania of to-day. As will be shown later, the capacities of these two races are remarkably high.

Cephalic index.—The South Saxon skull is above all things very long. In one case only does the index reach as high as 81. The rest vary between 74 and 69·3. The typical index would seem to be 72. There is no difference between the sexes in their cephalic indices, both being extremely dolichocephalic. The one brachycephalic skull is probably due to some admixture with the Round Barrow race. As one would expect, this high index is not frequent among the South Saxons. They were the new comers, living on the coast where they had landed, and they did not advance inland to any large extent: consequently they would have seen little of the Round Barrow race. The West Saxons, on the contrary, did penetrate into the interior, and must have come into most intimate contact with this race, and we naturally find, as I shall show later, two types of skull among them:—one more "Saxon," that is to say, dolichocephalic, while the other has a closer resemblance to the broad Round Barrow skull, and is brachycephalic, with an index of 81. This is of course a proof that the Britons were not exterminated by the Saxons: large numbers of them must have survived the Saxon conquest, and eventually the two races fused together.

Height index.—These skulls are not only very long, but also remarkably low: the average height index is only 70. The female skull agrees with the male in this respect. The height index is in every case equal to or less than the cephalic index length, but never greater.

Gnathic index.—The orthognathism of the South Saxons is also very marked: out of eight indices, there is not one above 98. They all vary between 97·9 and 89·5, with an average index of 94.

Orbital index.—The orbital indices are somewhat surprising. Before examining these skulls, I fully expected them to be mesoseme, like the modern English orbit: but, to my surprise, I found them to be distinctly microseme, two orbits only, out of fourteen, being mesoseme. The remainder were microseme and gave an average index of 81. The comparative lowness of this index is brought about by the extreme orbital width rather than by an absolutely small height.

Nasal index.—So far the various cranial indices of these South Saxons have agreed closely enough to enable one to see a distinct type running through the whole series. The nasal aperture, however, affords a good deal of variation. There seem to be two types, of which the first is leptorhine, with an index of 44, the second mesorhine, with an index of 49. The

only female index belongs to the mesorhine type. I may remark in passing that the one brachycephalic skull in this series is also the most leptorhine; whether this is a mere accident or not I have not sufficient data at my command to decide. It may be merely an example of what Collignon says is the rule, that brachycephalic skulls are usually leptorhine.

Naso-malar index (Oldfield Thomas).—This is of some interest in a study of the Saxon race, in view of Mr. Park Harrison's statement that the modern English derive their prosopic features from the Angles and not from the Saxons. If this were correct, we should expect to find the index high in the East Anglians and low in the South Saxons. If, however, the South Saxons had intermarried with the East Anglians to any extent, we should expect to find two types among the Saxons, one typical and platyopic or nearly so, the other prosopic. As a matter of fact there are two types among the Saxons, but the prosopic type cannot, it would seem, have come from the East Anglians, as these also are nearly platyopic, the mean index being 108. It appears that the two types must have existed among the Saxons before they settled in Britain, and that it is owing to the prevalence of the prosopic type that the modern English have that feature. It can hardly, I think, judging from the crania I have examined, have come from the East Anglians.

General description.—The Saxon skull has, as can be seen from the indices, and still more by a glance at the skulls themselves, several marked characteristics. In the first place it is, as I have already remarked, very dolichocephalic; in only one instance out of nine does the index rise above 74, while two fall below 70. Seen from above the cranium has a rather imperfect oval form; the widest part is caused by the projection of the parietal bosses, some way between the middle line, and it is owing to this that the skull has its well-known "coffin shape." In the frontal region the cranium is comparatively narrow: the supraciliary ridges are well-marked, and the cranium rises in a slightly receding fashion to the bregma, which, as Barnard Davis has pointed out, is nearly or quite as high as any part of the sagittal suture. In the occipital region, the upper part of the occipital bone has a large protuberance backwards; the angle at the occipital point is sharp and the lower part of the bone is comparatively horizontal.

The skulls besides being dolichocephalic are also markedly tapeinocephalic. Eight out of nine indices taken vary between 71 and 67.35, giving a mean of 70. The extreme length and lowness of these crania are perhaps their two most distinguishing features. Seen from behind the skulls present a beautifully oval

form; the prominence of the parietal bosses saves them from having the cymbocephalic shape of skull with its parallel sides, so characteristic of the Long Barrow race. The top of the cranium slopes away on each side of the sagittal suture, and is by no means flat like the top of the broad-headed Round Barrow crania; at the same time there is nothing of the nature of a keel along this suture, such as we find in "ill-filled" skulls. The face is fairly long and narrow: the malar bones do not project to any large extent, and were it not for the lower jaw, the face would resemble the rest of the cranium in having a rather oval shape. As it is, however, the lower jaw is so massive, and the width between its two angles is so great, as to give the face a square and not an oval form. The jaws do not project in the least, the whole series being orthognathous. That the face is relatively long is obvious enough with the skulls before one, and the various facial indices, as a whole, show this point.

The nose is a striking feature and very prominent. The inter-orbital distance, in every case except one, is short, and the nose at its root is sunk in beneath the overhanging glabella. At first it is rather flat, but after a short distance it projects in a recurved manner and ends finally by standing out well in front of the face.

As regards the individual skulls, it may be as well to state that No. 665 has an Os Inca 20 mm. long and 35 mm. broad, and it has also the ossified remains of the pterygo-spinous ligament. No. 668 has an Os antiepilepticum.

The importance of the South Saxon skulls lies in the fact that they are doubtless of a purer type than are those of the West Saxons. The South Saxons landed on the coast of Sussex, conquered the British of that region, and then stayed there. Being on the coast, there was every opportunity for fresh Saxon adventurers to come and swell their numbers, and hence, though they must have intermarried to some extent with the conquered race, the type would probably have been kept fairly pure. With the West Saxons the case is different: the extent of sea-board, compared with the size of their kingdom, was far smaller than was that of the South Saxons, and intermarriage would in all probability have proceeded more rapidly among them. The features would therefore lose their purity, and it follows that for a pure typical Saxon skull we must look to Sussex and not Wessex. The typical Saxon indices will be found at the end of the paper in a tabulated form, compared with those of the other races to be described.

Femora.—With the crania were found also three male femora, two of which are remarkably platymeric. The lengths of these

femora are 429, 447 and 449 mm. respectively. From the table given in Topinard, I calculate that the heights of the three individuals would be 5 feet $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 5 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 5 feet $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with a mean height of 5 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the race. The first femur is not platymetric: its index is as high as 96.4. It is the two latter that exhibit this peculiarity, their indices being 71.2 and 72.7.

West Saxons.

From a study of the South Saxon crania, I concluded that the Sussex Saxons were not an absolutely pure race; they had intermarried to a small extent with the British inhabitants. This fusion of the two races is far more obvious among the Wessex Saxons, and can be clearly seen by an examination of their cranial features.

Cephalic index.—Taking the cephalic index first, there are, as I have already mentioned, two types of skull among them, a broad-headed type and a long-headed type. The latter is found more often than the former, and from its closer resemblance to the South Saxon skull, must be considered as the more typical: its cephalic index is about 75. The other type has a much higher index of 81. The brachycephalism comes, no doubt, from some native admixture. We see the effect of this fusion also in the height index. This, in the Round Barrow race, is, according to Thurnham, 76. I shall try and show later that there are two types of Round Barrow skulls, but the index of what I will for the present call the more typical, is about 78. It will be remembered that the height index of the typical Saxon is 70. We have thus the Round Barrow broad-heads with a height index of 78 and the Saxons with an index of 70. Among the West Saxons we find again two types of altitudinal index, the first being 71, the second 74. The latter indicates the fusion with the pre-Saxon race. The cephalic and height indices which I have found for the West Saxons agree almost exactly with the mean of some twenty West Saxon indices taken at random from the "Crania Britannica."

Cranial capacity.—As regards the cranial capacity, there is practically no difference between the South and West Saxons. If anything, the West Saxons have rather the smaller capacity of the two. I was only able to take the capacity of three male skulls. Of these one was abnormally microcephalic; but the other two have almost identical capacities (1450 and 1460 c.c.), and I think we may fairly put the mean capacity at about 1450, that is to say, just megacephalic. This inference seems supported by the capacities of the female skulls, of which I have four. The mean of these is 1360, or 100 less than the

male capacities: this is not more than what would be accounted for by the difference of sex.

Gnathic index.—The gnathic index is curious. Eight skulls out of twelve are orthognathous, the mean index being 94. Of the rest, one is mesognathous and the other three are on the border of meso- and prognathism. Two out of the latter three indices were derived from male skulls, the third from a female. It is difficult to see where the prognathous type can have come from. It cannot be due to admixture with the Round Barrow race, for these are orthognathous. If, on the other hand, these two distinct types were present among the West Saxons at the time when they invaded Britain, we should expect to find them also among the South Saxons, who were presumably members of the same race. This, however, is not the case. It would seem therefore that the prognathism was due to admixture with other races, subsequent to their conquest of Wessex; but even so, we are no nearer the solution of the question, inasmuch as there were no prognathous races in England at that time. It may be merely an individual peculiarity, but I think the percentage is too large for that. All that we can say is that there are these two types, an orthognathous and a prognathous type. Where the latter came from I have as yet no idea.

Nasal index.—It is difficult to distinguish any definite type of nose among the skulls examined. I have fifteen indices, of which the highest is 58 and the lowest 40; the intervening indices arrange themselves more or less regularly throughout this large gap:—40 p.c. are platyrrhine, 33 p.c. mesorrhine, and 27 p.c. leptorrhine. For the present I cannot say more than that there appear to be three distinct types of noses—types which merge into one another. Where the platyrrhine type comes from I do not know; not from the Round Barrow race, for these are leptorrhine. It is interesting to note that in the South Saxons it is the leptorrhine type that predominates, the platyrrhine being entirely absent. This is just the reverse of what is found among the West Saxons.

Orbital index.—The orbital index is more simple. Here again there seem to be two types, a microseme type with an index of 81 and a megaseme with an index of 90. But this we should expect. The microseme group which is the more numerous has the typical Saxon index, that is to say, the same index as the South Saxon skulls, 81. The megaseme group is smaller and gets its high index presumably from the broad-headed Round Barrow race.

With regard to the face, it may be noticed that these skulls are platyopic, with a mean index of 107. The marked prosopic type, which was found among some of the South Saxons, is here

absent, the highest index out of twelve being only 110. The face itself is fairly long and narrow; there is not much difference in this respect between the West and South Saxons. The West are perhaps a little shorter in face than the South. This slight change is in the direction of the typical Round Barrow race.

A study of these West Saxons seems to show conclusively that they are not pure Saxons, nor even as pure as the South Saxons, but Saxon with a British admixture. It would seem further that the British element predominates largely in the district round Melksham on the Avon. There are four skulls from Melksham among those that I have examined: they are all brachycephalic, and are obviously far more closely allied to the British type of skull than they are to the Saxon. In the rest of Wessex it is the Saxon type that predominates, though it must not be supposed that the British element is absent; it is present, and here and there stamps its mark to a greater or less extent on the Saxon crania; as, for instance, on the crania from the Cirencester district; at least this is so, if the two skulls from Fairford may be considered as typical. They are labelled "Celts-Saxon." Unfortunately we have only two of these crania in the Cambridge Museum, but as they agree with each other very closely in their indices and in their general appearance, I think I shall not be far wrong in considering them fairly typical of the district. They have a most marked Saxon appearance and are certainly more Saxon than British: at the same time they are, I think, rather more British than are the crania from Berkshire and some other parts of Wessex. A glance at the indices at the end of the paper will show that their altitudinal index is higher, the face is shorter and their cranial capacity larger, in all of which points they tend towards the British type. In most of Wiltshire, with the exception of the West and especially the North-West parts, the crania belong, broadly speaking, to the Saxon type, but the three skulls from Harnham, near Salisbury, are brachycephalic, or nearly so. I think it quite possible, therefore, that there may be a "British colony" here as well as in the Avon Valley. The same thing may perhaps be said of Knowle in Dorset, as the only skull I have from that district is nearly brachycephalic.

These observations of mine afford a striking confirmation of the views which Dr. Beddoe has lately put forward in this *Journal* (July, 1895). Dr. Beddoe after a careful examination of the colour of the hair and eyes of the natives of Wessex, concludes that "the population of East Gloucestershire, like that of Central Oxfordshire, is largely Saxon; that of the country round Cirencester is scarcely less so, while that of the Upper Valley

of the Bristol Avon contains a much larger pre-Saxon element." I have not yet had an opportunity of examining any crania of the East Gloucestershire district, but I entirely agree with Dr. Beddoe in saying that the pre-Saxon element is to be chiefly found in the Upper Valley of the Bristol Avon, and that the population of the country round Cirencester is scarcely less Saxon than is that in the Eastern parts of Wessex. In the rest of Wessex Dr. Beddoe found the Saxon hair and eye colour to preponderate greatly. It would be interesting to see whether the colour test supports the idea of a British colony near Salisbury. I think it is more likely than not that it would do so.

On the whole then, I think we may consider that the disposition of the two races as given above is correct; if so, there can be no doubt "that the West Saxons settled numerously in the Upper Thames Valley before they began to interfere with the inhabitants of the Valley of the Bristol Avon."

Of peculiarities in the individual crania of this series, it will be enough to mention that the metopic suture persists in two cases out of seventeen (Nos. 550 and 566) while an Os Inca is to be seen in No. 550.

Round Barrow Race.

We now come to the Round Barrow race, who were supposed to have come over to England from the continent, armed with bronze weapons, by means of which they conquered the neolithic Long Barrow race. Inter-marriage and fusion subsequently followed. If this view is right, we ought to find two types of skull in these Round Barrows, one more typical, resembling the race when they first invaded Britain, the other less typical, with features like those of the Long Barrow race. An intermediate set should exist as well, in some points resembling one type, in others the other type. That these two types do exist, I think there can be no doubt. To firmly establish this fact an examination of more skulls than I have been able to avail myself of will be necessary, but the two types are absolutely distinct, so far as I can judge at present.

The characteristics of each type may be briefly stated as follows:—

Type I. The skulls conforming to this type are megacephalic, orthognathous, leptorhine, dolichocephalic, tapeinocephalic, microseme on the whole, long-faced and prosopic. In fact they resemble the Long Barrow Crania, and this type may therefore be called the "Neolithic Type."

Type II. The skulls of this type are megacephalic, or-

thognathous, leptorhine, brachycephalic, acrocephalic, mesoseme (in some cases nearly megaseme), short-faced and platyopic. This may be called the "Bronze Type," as it almost certainly represents the type of features characteristic of the immigrants who made use of bronze weapons, before they lost their purity through intermarriage with the Long Barrow race.

A glance at the following indices will make this clear. It is a dangerous thing to guess at indices when they cannot be calculated, but No. 194 is markedly dolichocephalic and tapeinocephalic, while No. 181 is equally broad. No. 177 is moderately broad; Nos. 175 and 188 are moderately high; No. 191 fairly low and microseme.

The skulls are arranged in order of their cephalic indices, beginning from the lowest. (See p. 91.)

As can be easily seen, No. 193 resembles the neolithic type in the length of its face; it is truly intermediate in its cephalic and height indices, and it resembles the bronze type in its orbital and naso-malar indices. It therefore justifies its position in every way.

The orbital indices are more erratic than the rest. As a whole they fall in their proper places, but there are a few exceptions, as in skulls 188 and 192. These, however, are not, to my mind, sufficient to upset the positions I have assigned to the orbital indices, especially when it is considered that in both these cases, while one orbit is at variance with the rule, the other is in complete accordance with it. On the whole then, I think we may say that the neolithic type has a low orbital index, while the bronze type has a high index.

There is one more point that might be mentioned, as it indicates in another way the fusion of these Bronze and Neolithic races. In all the crania of the bronze type the parietal bosses are very prominent, and in most of the neolithic type this is the case also, giving these latter a coffin-shaped form of skull, like that characteristic of the Saxons; but in No. 192 the bosses are not very conspicuous, and the skull has the flat parallel sides so typical of the Long Barrow race. The prominence of the parietal bosses in the other members of the neolithic type is presumably due to the bronze type asserting its predominance in this respect. It may be in part caused by, or at least in relation to, the large size of the brain. With such a high cranial capacity it is natural to suppose that the parietal bosses would project to assist in finding room for the brain. The size of the internal capacity is very striking. The capacities are, I think, fairly accurate, but owing to the artificial holes in most of these

Number of skull.	Cranial capacity.	Gnathic index.	Nasal index.	Cephalic index.	Height index.	(Orbital index.		Kollmann's upper facial index.	Kollmann's total facial index.	Virchow's upper facial index.	Virchow's total facial index.	Naso-malar index (Oldfield Thomas).
						Right.	Left.					
Neolithic Type—												
194 ..	—	96.5	47.5	low	low	80.2	80.3	—	—	86	140.2	109.3
184 ..	—	—	43	69.3	75.5	79.8	83.5	—	—	80.9	—	109.1
191 ..	—	—	—	69.6	mod. low	—	microsome	—	—	—	—	—
192 ..	1670	—	45.9	71.7	—	90.6	83	—	—	82.1	132.6	115
170 ..	—	93	—	72.8	72.5	—	73.5	49	85.9	71	124.5	—
Intermediate—												
193 ..	1610	—	42.6	74.9	74.4	90.1	94.9	56.5	96.4	74.4	127	106.3
178 ..	—	—	—	75.9	—	—	mesosome	—	—	—	—	—
Bronze Type—												
177 ..	—	—	—	mod. high	—	92.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
187 ..	—	—	—	79.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
188 ..	—	—	45.9	80.3	mod. high	77.5	85.7	—	—	68.8	112.2	106.4
175 ..	—	—	—	80.8	mod. high	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
179 ..	1650	—	—	84.9	77.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
172 ..	1565	95.7	47.8	88.6	78.3	88.6	87.8	—	—	66.1	—	108.5
181 ..	—	—	—	high	78.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

crania, they were difficult to take, and the results must only be regarded as approximate.

Among the bronze type the glabella and supraciliary ridges are not very prominent, and the top of the cranium is rather flat. The neolithic type, on the contrary, has a very conspicuous glabella and supraciliary ridges, and though there is no keel along the sagittal suture, the top of the cranium is anything but flat; it is more roof-shaped. A persistent metopic suture is to be seen in three skulls out of fourteen (Nos. 168, 178, 184). *Ossa Inca* exist in skulls 184 and 194.

Jutes.

Before passing on to the East Anglians, I may perhaps refer for a moment to the Jutes. Mr. Howorth believes that the East Saxons, who inhabited Essex and Middlesex, were members of the same race as the South Saxons. Together they inhabited the whole of the south-east corner of England under the common name of "Saxons." Later the Jutes landed on the coast of Kent, and inserted themselves as a wedge between the Saxons lying to the north of the Thames and those to the south. As they were no longer a conterminous people in the same sense as before, the names of South, Middle and East Saxons were applied to the three divisions of this race. If this view is correct, the East Saxons should have the same cranial indices and features as the South Saxons. I hope to see later on whether this is so or not, but as there are no Essex skulls in our museum here, I have decided to leave it for the present.

As regards the cranial features of the Jutes, the chief difficulty in the way of determining them is the want of skulls. There are four cephalic and two height indices of Kentish skulls given in the "*Crania Britannica*." The cephalic indices are 77, 74, 77 and 75, the mean of these being 75·75. The two height indices are 74 and 75, with a mean index of 74·5. We have one skull at Cambridge, which came from Ozingell in Kent. It was too broken for me to be able to calculate the cephalic and height indices, but it is nearly platyrrhine (52·7), just mesoseme, with an average index of 84 for its two eyes, orthognathous (94·2), and platyopic (106·5). The face is moderately long, the upper facial index of Virchow being 70·9. It is a female skull.

East Anglians.

Lastly, I have a few words to say about the East Anglians.

Our museum is particularly rich in skulls of this race. I have examined twenty-three of the most perfect specimens. A glance at the indices at the end of the paper will show their main

characteristics, but it may be as well to make a few remarks about them here.

Their *cranial capacity* is distinctly large. One skull falls, it is true, to 1220, but this is more or less balanced by one with a capacity of 1670, and, as four out of ten agree fairly closely in having an index of 1550, I think it would be best to consider this as typical.

Cephalic and height indices.—These skulls are dolichocephalic and tapeinocephalic; not so much so, however, as was the case with the South Saxons. The East Anglian indices are 74 and 71 respectively, numbers which agree exactly with those drawn from the "*Crania Britannica*."

Gnathic index.—Orthognathism is here the rule. The typical index seems to be 96, somewhat higher than among the South Saxons; these latter had an index of 94. Among the East Anglians, one skull rises to 105, one to 101, and three to 100, but the great majority are orthognathous.

Orbital index.—The orbits are mesoseme, with a mean index of 85. This is higher than that of the South Saxons, who had very microseme eyes (81).

Nasal index.—The East Anglians and South Saxons both agree in having the two types of noses, one leptorhine (mean index = 44), the other mesorhine (mean index = 50). There is no difference either according to sex in this index.

Naso-malar index.—With regard to the naso-malar index I fail, as I have already said, to confirm Mr. Park Harrison's theory that the predominance of prosopic faces among modern Englishmen is due to the East Anglians. I find out of nineteen indices only four that are prosopic, and there can be no doubt that the true index is 108; that is to say, the face is nearly platyopic. The face, as a whole, judged by the male indices, is narrower and longer than that of the Saxon, and curiously there is a distinct difference between the two sexes in the length of the face, the male facial length index being considerably higher than that of the female. I have not been able to discover any such difference in the other races I have examined.

In almost all the male East Anglians, the glabella and supra-ciliary ridges are well marked. Viewed from behind the crania have a symmetrical oval shape, and some of them have a similarly oval form when seen from above; others, however, are more like the Saxon crania in being rather coffin-shaped. This may perhaps indicate a slight fusion between the East Anglians and East Saxons. The face seen from in front has a square, determined look about it, and in some ways it also has a Saxon appearance.

The metopic suture persists in three cases out of twenty-

three (Nos. 382, 401, 517), while Ossa Inca are present in two (375, 517).

Summary.

The main points of this paper may be briefly recorded as follows:—

1. The South Saxons were not an absolutely pure race; they had a little British blood in them, though the amount was probably very small. The Wessex Saxons were less pure than the South Saxons, owing to their more frequent intermarriage with the British population.
2. I am able to confirm Dr. Beddoe's researches to the effect that the pre-Saxon population predominates in the Upper Valley of the Bristol Avon, and that the population of the Cirencester district is chiefly Saxon, though containing a slightly larger admixture of British blood than is the case in East and South Wessex.
3. There are two types of skulls in the Round Barrows; one like the Long Barrow skull, while the other type is more "British." This fact confirms the belief that the broad-headed immigrants of the Bronze age conquered the Neolithic race and then fused with them.
4. The East Anglians have a form of skull slightly different to that of the South Saxons. It is rather broader, less tapeinocephalic, and mesoseme instead of microseme: the face is also relatively longer, and the cranial capacity larger.
5. These skulls do not bear out the theory of Mr. Park Harrison, that the prosopism of the modern English is derived from the East Anglians. It would seem rather to have come from the South Saxons.

In conclusion I should like to express my thanks to Professor Macalister for his kind help and advice to me during the course of this paper.

TABLE I.—Comparing the typical indices of the various races examined.

Number of skulls examined.	Round Barrow Race.		Celts Saxons.		Wessex Saxons.		South Saxons.		East Anglians.		Jutes.	
	14		2		20		10		23		1	
	Neolithic type.	Bronze type.			British type.	Saxon type.						
Cephalic index	72	81	75		81	75	72	74	75.75 ¹			
Height index	74	78	76		74	71	70	71	74.5 ¹			
Cranial capacity	1620	1620	1510		{ (1) 102 (2) 94 }	1460	1480	1550	—			
Gnathic index	96	96	94		{ (1) 90 (2) 81 }		94	96	94.2			
Orbital index	80	90	80		{ (1) 55 (2) 50 (3) 44 }		81	85	84			
Nasal index	46	46	50		{ (1) 49 (2) 45 }		{ (1) 50 (2) 44 }		52.7			
Total facial index (Kollmann) ..	91	—	81.3		86		88.5	—	—			
Upper facial index (Kollmann) ..	52	—	47.1		54		54	56 ²	—			
Total facial index (Virchow) ..	133	112	121.7		119		119	129 ²	—			
Upper facial index (Virchow) ..	81	68.5	70.5		70		72	78 ²	70.9			
Naso-malar index (Oldfield Thomas) ..	111	106	108.2		107		{ (1) 113 (2) 107 }	108	106.5			
Stature as judged from the femora ..	—	—	—		—		5 ft. 5½ in.	—	—			

¹ From the "Crania Britannica."

² Male indices.

TABLE II.—Round Barrow Race—continued.

Number of skull.	Sex.	Where found.	Cephalic index.	Height index.	Cranial capacity.	Gnathic index.	Orbital index.		Nasal index.	Total facial index (Kollmann).	Upper facial index (Kollmann).	Total facial index (Virehow).	Upper facial index (Virehow).	Neo-malar index (Oldfield Thomas).
							Right orbit.	Left orbit.						
188	♂	{ Round Barrow, Winter- bourn, Stoke .. }	80.3	—	—	—	77.5	85.7	45.9	—	—	112.2	68.8	105.4
191	♂	{ Round Barrow, Kennet Hill .. }	69.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
192	♂	Kennet Hill, Avebury ..	71.7	—	1670	—	90.6	83	46.9	—	—	132.6	82.1	115
193	♂	{ Round Barrow, Morgan's Hill, near Wansdyke }	74.9	74.4	1610	—	90.1	94.9	42.6	96.4	56.5	127	74.4	106.3
194	♂	{ Round Barrow, Knap Hill .. }	—	—	—	96.5	80.2	80.3	47.5	—	—	140.2	86	109.3
175	♀	{ Long Barrow, secondary interment, Stonehenge }	80.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
178	♀	{ Small Round Barrow, Shepherds Shore, near Wansdyke .. }	75.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mean Indices {			(a) 81 (b) 72	(a) 78 (b) 74	1620	95	{ (a) 90 (b) 80 }	46 {	—	(a) — (b) 91	(a) — (b) 53	(a) 112 (b) 131	(a) 68.5 (b) 81	(a) 106 (b) 111

TABLE III.—West Saxon Crania—continued.

Number of skull.	Sex.	Where found.	Cephalic index.	Height index.	Cranial capacity.	Gnathic index.	Nasal index.	Orbital index.		Total facial index (Kollmann).	Upper facial index (Kollmann).	Total facial index (Virchow).	Upper facial index (Virchow).	Naso-malar index (Vidfeld Thomas).
								Right.	Left.					
560	♀	Harnham, Wilts ..	79	71	—	102.6	55.3	86.2	88.6	—	—	116.6	71.3	105.5
571	♀	Knowle, Dorset ..	79.6	71.7	—	90.8	46.8	84.2	81	—	—	118	67	107.3
568	♀	Haselbury, Somerset ..	76.1	—	—	—	50	77.5	81	85.7	54.1	118.8	75	108.4
557	♀	Swindon, Wilts ..	75.9	68.9	1300	100.5	43.3	85.3	85.1	85.8	50.6	119.1	70.2	107.8
549	♀	Long Wittenham, Berks ..	75.8	70.4	1410	95.5	58	76.7	82.5	80.2	48.6	110.7	67.2	107.2
554	♀	{ Cross Roads, Tiltshead, Wilts }	73.1	71.2	1380	—	40.4	94.1	—	—	—	—	80.3	—
556	♀	Durrington Down, Wilts ..	72.5	72.2	—	96	53.3	80.8	78.7	—	—	133.3	77	107.3
573	♀	Old Somerton, Somerset ..	—	—	—	—	55.7	90.4	81.5	—	—	—	—	106.4
		Mean Indices ..	{ (1) 80 (2) 75 }	{ (1) 74 (2) 71 }	{ 1460 (1) 94 (2) 103 }	{ (1) 55 (2) 50 (3) 44 }		(1) 90 (2) 81		86	54	119	70	107

CELTIC-SAXON CRANIA.

569	♂	Fairford, Gloucestershire..	75.3	76.6	1510	94.3	49.4	71.8	72.3	81.3	47.1	121.7	70.5	108.2
570	♂	Fairford, Gloucestershire..	74.1	75.9	1510	93.7	50.5	—	80.1	—	—	—	—	—
		Mean Indices ..	75	76	1510	94	50	77	81.3	81.3	47.1	121.7	70.5	108.2

TABLE IV.—South Saxon Crania.

Number of skull.	Sex.	Where found.	Cephalic index.	Height index.	Cranial capacity.	Gnathic index.	Orbital index.		Nasal index.	Total facial index (Kollmann).	Upper facial index (Kollmann).	Total facial index (Virchow).	Upper facial index (Virchow).	Masio-malar index (O. Heide Thomas).
							Right.	Left.						
660	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	80.7	71	1470	90.5	79	81.4	42.6	83.1	50.7	120.4	73.5	105.8
661	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	71.9	68	1485	95.9	83.3	79	45.4	96.2	59	137.6	84.4	112.8
662	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	—	70	—	92.8	80.5	83.3	49	—	51.7	—	75.3	108.1
663	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	—	67.8	—	89.8	83.95	82.5	49.5	—	—	—	67.7	112.6
664	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	70.6	69.9	1570	97.9	85.5	77	43.3	86.3	55	114.7	73.1	107.4
665	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	72.75	70.5	—	93.8	81.6	77.5	46.3	—	—	115.1	67	107.1
666	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	74	74	1465	94.1	72.3	—	44.8	—	—	120.5	71.6	—
671	♂	Goring, Sussex ..	70.9	67.35	1485	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
667	♀	Goring, Sussex ..	72.4	70.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
672	♀	Goring, Sussex ..	69.4	—	—	89.5	88.5	—	48.9	—	—	119.3	71.6	113.6
670	child	Goring, Sussex ..	69.3	—	—	—	88.2	—	53.9	—	—	—	—	—
Typical Indices (excluding 670)			72	70	1480	94	81	{ (1) 49 (2) 45 }	—	88.5	64	119	72	{ (1) 113 (2) 107 }

TABLE V.—East Anglian Crania.

Number of skull.	Sex.	Where found.	Cephalic index.	Height index.	Cranial capacity.	Glabial index.	Orbital index.		Nasal index.	Total facial index (Kollmann).	Upper facial index (Kollmann).	Total facial index (Virchow).	Upper facial index (Virchow).	Kasso-malar index (Oldfield Thomas).
							Right.	Left.						
326	♂	Hauxton	72.7	68	1220	100	84.2	84.2	43.6	—	—	132.2	81.6	108
329	♂	Hauxton	77.1	71.8	—	100	81.6	77	53	—	—	127.8	75.5	107.4
351	♂	Hauxton	72.4	72.4	1310	93.2	—	77.4	49.5	—	—	—	—	—
366	♂	Hauxton	71	69.7	1540	86.9	82.9	89.7	42.2	—	56.9	—	78.8	110.2
367	♂	Hauxton	75.1	64.3	—	105.4	—	88.2	45.4	—	—	—	—	—
376	♂	Hauxton	73.9	69.8	1550	89.1	84.6	83.9	47.6	—	56.2	—	78.1	110.3
382	♂	Hauxton	76.6	66.8	1560	96.1	87.8	83.1	38.8	—	—	133.7	82.1	108.9
401	♂	Hauxton	72.6	69.6	—	93.6	97.3	95	48.4	—	—	—	74.7	108.2
402	♂	Hauxton	72.8	73	1670	91.4	83.9	83.8	50	—	—	128.9	74.2	108.2
423	♂	Haslingfield	76.2	71.4	1420	95.5	84.6	87.2	49	—	—	124	81	106.3
427	♂	Cambridge	75.3	68.3	1465	—	85	89.6	46	—	—	142.6	84	109.3
511	♂	Cambridge	—	70.8	—	100.5	85.4	86.6	40.9	—	—	—	89.2	108.6

TABLE V.—East Anglian Crania—*continued*.

Number of skull.	Sex.	Where found.	Cephalic index.	Height index.	Cranial capacity.	Gnathic index.	Orbital index.		Nasal index.	Total facial index (Kollmann).	Upper facial index (Kollmann).	Total facial index (Virchow).	Upper facial index (Virchow).	Kno-malar index (Olfeld Thomas).
							Right.	Left.						
513	♂	Cambridge	73.8	—	—	—	74.4	70.5	43.7	—	—	—	77.7	107.9
514	♂	Cambridge	75.4	73.2	1300	91	—	89.6	51.9	—	—	—	75.8	—
579	♂	Hauxton	74	69.1	1580	98.1	92.2	89.9	51.5	—	53.6	—	71.6	108.7
340	♀	Hauxton	75.7	67.6	—	97.3	77.8	82.1	44.4	—	50.4	—	67.2	108.2
361	♀	Hauxton	73.8	69.4	1215	83	87.7	89.9	41.6	—	—	—	77.6	112.9
372	♀	Hauxton	73.9	65.2	1220	91.9	88.2	88.2	52.2	—	—	—	78.2	110.9
375	♀	Hauxton	73.7	73.7	—	95.1	82.4	88.6	52.9	—	—	—	61.5	106.9
383	♀	Hauxton	73.1	71.1	1520	96.3	93.8	89.7	—	—	—	118	70	106.7
428	♀	Cambridge	73.4	72.5	—	96.3	—	92.3	49	—	—	120.1	71.6	—
517	♀	Barrington	74.7	65.4	1430	98	80.3	81.6	62.8	—	—	—	63.8	106.4
518	♀	Hauxton	—	—	—	99.5	80	84.4	48.6	—	—	—	76.4	107.7
Mean Indices.. ..			74	71	1550	96	85	{	(a) 50 (b) 44	{	56 ♂ 50 ♀	129 ♂ 119 ♀	78 ♂ 70 ♀	} 108

MEASUREMENTS OF THE SKULLS.

	696	697	698	699	701	703	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	713	714	732	733	734	735	736	737
	fem.	child.	male.	male.	fem.	male.	male.	child.	fem.	fem.	fem.	fem.	child.	male.	male.	male.	fem.	fem.	male.	male.	male.
	(146)	128	146	149	139	145	146	(140)	(134)	139	(132)	140	129	(140)	143	141	131	(134)	144	142	135
	180	163	194	196	179	194	180	172	181	182	188	186	168	189	181	189	177	177	184	191	186
	?	?	133	?	132	(133)	?	?	130	127	?	123	?	128	128	142	123	132	121	130	129
	?	(51)	?	?	?	82	?	?	58	?	?	?	52	65	68	70	62	?	70	?	64
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	93	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	113	?	100
	?	(95)	?	?	?	131	?	?	(111)	?	?	?	(102)	?	(132)	(138)	118	?	(127)	?	126
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	88	?	?	?	?	91	93	97	99	?	99	?	(93)
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	95	?	?	?	?	103	93	110	99	99	94	?	101
	?	31	?	?	?	33	?	?	34	?	?	?	31	35	32	{35 (r) 33 (l)}	33	?	33	?	33
	?	31	?	?	?	39	?	?	37	?	?	?	33	(36)	39		38	?	38	?	39
	?	36	?	?	?	53	?	?	45	?	?	?	37	48	48	52	48	?	52	?	49
	?	19	?	?	?	23	?	?	22	?	?	?	21	22	26	25	23	?	23	?	23
	?	?	?	?	?	53	?	?	44	?	?	?	41	?	(51)	49	54	?	55	?	?
	?	?	?	?	?	66	?	?	58	?	?	?	51	?	(66)	63	59	?	63	?	?
	?	?	?	?	?	1600	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	1320	1500	1190	?	?	?	?

INDICES.

1	(81.1)	78.5	75.3	76	77.7	74.7	81.1	(81.4)	(74.0)	76.4	76.3	75.3	76.8	(74.1)	79.0	74.6	74.0	(75.7)	78.3	74.3	72.6
9	?	?	68.6	?	73.7	(68.6)	?	?	71.8	69.8	?	66.1	?	67.7	70.7	75.1	69.5	74.6	65.8	68.1	69.4
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(83.8)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(89.0)	?	86.4
	?	(53.1)	?	?	?	62.6	?	?	(52.3)	?	?	?	(51)	?	(51.5)	(50.7)	52.2	?	(55.1)	?	50.8
	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	92.6	?	?	?	?	88.3	94.9	88.2	100.0	?	105.3	?	(92.1)
	?	100.0	?	?	?	84.6	?	?	91.9	?	?	?	93.9	(97.2)	82.0	89.5	86.5	?	86.8	?	84.6
	?	52.8	?	?	?	43.4	?	?	48.9	?	?	?	56.8	45.8	54.2	48.2	47.9	?	44.2	?	46.9
	?	?	?	?	?	124.5	?	?	?	?	?	?	124.4	?	(129.4)	128.6	109.3	?	114.5	?	?

THE SKULLS.

710	711	713	714	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	741	742	743	7
fem.	child.	male.	male.	male.	fem.	fem.	male.	male.	male.	male.	male.	male.	male.	male.	f
149	129	(140)	143	141	131	(134)	144	142	135	(133)	(144)	142	136	(146)	(1
186	168	189	181	189	177	177	184	191	186	192	184	192	187	(184)	1
123	?	128	128	142	123	132	121	130	129	134	?	142	126	?	
?	52	65	68	70	62	?	70	?	64	?	?	77	69	?	
?	?	?	?	?	?	?	113	?	109	?	?	121	109	?	
?	(102)	?	(132)	(138)	118	?	(127)	?	126	?	?	(132)	130	?	
?	?	91	93	97	99	?	99	?	(93)	?	?	96	95	?	
?	?	103	93	110	99	99	94	?	101	105	?	109	103	?	
?	31	35	32	{35 (r) 33 (l)}	33	?	33	?	33	?	?	34	34	?	
?	33	(36)	39	38	38	?	38	?	39	?	?	40	40	?	
?	37	48	48	52	48	?	52	?	49	?	?	56	50	?	
?	21	22	26	25	23	?	23	?	23	?	?	25	25	?	
?	41	?	(51)	49	54	?	55	?	?	?	?	51	50	?	
?	51	?	(66)	63	59	?	63	?	?	?	?	63	59	?	
?	?	?	1320	1500	1190	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	1370	?	

75·3	76·8	(74·1)	79·0	74·6	74·0	(75·7)	78·3	74·3	72·6	(70·8)	(78·3)	74·0	72·7	(79·3)	(7
66·1	?	67·7	70·7	75·1	69·5	74·6	65·8	68·1	69·4	69·8	?	74·0	67·4	?	
?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(89·0)	?	86·4	?	?	(91·7)	83·9	?	
?	(51)	?	(51·5)	(50·7)	52·2	?	(55·1)	?	50·8	?	?	(58·3)	53·1	?	
?	?	88·3	94·9	88·2	100·0	?	105·3	?	(92·1)	?	?	88·1	92·2	?	
?	93·9	(97·2)	82·0	89·5	86·5	?	86·8	?	84·6	?	?	85·0	85·0	?	
?	56·8	45·8	54·2	48·2	47·9	?	44·2	?	46·9	?	?	44·6	50·0	?	
?	124·4	?	(129·4)	128·6	109·3	?	114·5	?	?	?	?	123·5	118·0	?	

743	744	745	746	750	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	685
male.	fem.	male.	fem.	male.	male.	male.	fem.	fem.	male.	fem.	male.	fem.	fem.
(146)	(134)	141	140	138	147	139	142	144	134	131	144	134	?
(184)	184	176	186	175	187	185	188	193	187	178	195	180	191
?	?	132	127	129	126	139	132	130	127	128	136	128	?
?	?	67	?	?	70	65	?	75	(60)	63	76	62	73
?	?	?	?	?	(114)	109	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
?	?	(128)	?	?	128	116	?	130	?	(129)	(128)	(119)	?
?	?	89	?	?	99	101	?	88	(94)	93	94	92	?
?	?	93	(91)	?	99	98	99	98	99	95	101	93	?
?	?	33	?	?	34	31	?	39	33	31	35	32	37
?	?	39	?	?	39	(37)	?	39	37	39	41	35	42
?	?	53	?	?	(49)	(49)	?	53	47	47	51	47	49
?	?	24	?	?	(23)	(25)	?	24	(25)	23	23	24	23
?	?	?	?	?	54	47	?	?	?	53	?	?	50
?	?	?	?	?	57	(60)	?	?	?	61	?	?	58
?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

79.3	(72.8)	80.1	75.3	78.9	78.6	75.1	75.5	74.6	71.7	73.6	73.8	74.4	?
?	?	75.0	68.3	73.7	67.4	75.1	70.2	67.4	67.9	71.9	69.7	71.1	?
?	?	?	?	?	(89.0)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
?	?	(52.3)	?	?	54.7	?	?	57.7	?	(48.8)	(59.4)	(51.3)	?
?	?	95.7	?	?	100.0	103.1	?	89.8	(94.9)	97.9	93.1	98.9	?
?	?	84.6	?	?	87.2	(83.8)	?	100.0	89.2	79.5	85.4	91.4	88.1
?	?	45.3	?	?	(46.9)	(51.0)	?	45.3	(53.2)	48.9	45.1	51.1	46.9
?	?	?	?	?	105.5	(127.6)	?	?	?	115.1	?	?	116.0

An unpublished BATAK CREATION LEGEND.

By C. M. PLEYTE.

*The first village.*¹

"I FOLD my hands respectfully above my head, O gods on high!"

"Seven times pardon, lord, for naming thy name, *Batara guru doli*,² who reignest among the gods of the upper regions!"

"Lord of the seven strongholds, whose walls are so high, that the elephants stoop before them, the surrounding bamboo compels the storm to respect."

"Possessor of the bathing place *Si-mangera-era*,³ situated in an inaccessible region."

"The ficus *Yambu barus*⁴ extends its vault over thee, when thou enjoyest thyself with thine in the fields, or pronounce judgment in the shade of its foliage, wherein the birds of the sky hover to and fro, flapping their wings and warbling sweetly.⁵

Si-tapi Sindar di mata ni ari,⁶ daughter of *Batara guru*, sat at the gate of heaven, dressing her hair, wherein she made an extraordinarily beautiful parting. She felt a desire to look downward, but her heart was struck with sadness when she could discover nothing but a bare plain. When she came home, her father remarked the alteration of her features and asked with compassionate interest: "What is the matter, my dear daughter? you seem put out."

"Nothing is the matter with me, father, why should I be discontented? I have the happiness to be your daughter, and is it not already blithe to see the birds *Patija raja* and *Buruk-buruk bolajan*?"

* * * *

Batara guru slept and had a bad dream. "I woke disturbed, for in my sleep I saw an unwonted agitation in the air, and the ground shook as if it were moved by an earthquake," he said to his daughter, and turning to one of his *Mandi*-swallows,⁸ he ordered it to go down.

"How shall I get there, lord?"

"Here is a jacket⁹ of my father's, put it on in order not to get too tired with flying in such a vast space," said *Si-tapi Sindar di mata ni ari*.

The swallow sailed downward, tracing wide circles in the air, but it saw nothing whatever on which it could rest. At last it espied the rock *Tanjuk tolu*,¹⁰ and let itself, quite exhausted, down upon it. Then it rolled up the jacket and used it as a cushion on which to take the rest it so much wanted.

Si-tapi Sindar di mata ni ari became impatient on account of the long absence of the swallow, and sent the bird *Patija raja* to look after it. *Patija raja* was also provided with a jacket and hovered on it downward. After it had looked for a long time in all directions, it discovered at last the swallow sleeping peacefully.

"Why do not you come?"

"The strong wind makes it impossible for me to fly upward."

"Say rather that you are not willing; why such a false pretence? Look how I shall manage."

Patija raja flew up in mid-air, but was overmastered by the strong wind, which drove him towards the east, and he was obliged to come back without delay.

"What did I tell you, it is impossible!"

"Now then we shall have to stay here for the present."

* * * *

"What can be the reason that they stay so long?" said the princess, growing more and more impatient. She called the cowflea¹¹ and said: "Please go down and see why they do not come back."

"I must, you say, go thither; but is there nothing that I have to take with me?"

"Here is a firesteel; take it in your armpit, and be careful that nobody here shall know that I have given it to you."

(The cowflea went, and one would say that the little balls protruding from his head had been his eyes, if it were not known that his organs of sight were in his armpits.)¹² The flea despaired at first of finding the two birds, but had nevertheless at last the good luck of meeting them still on the *Tanjuk tolu*.

"Why do not you come? the princess is so angry!"

"The strong wind has made our return impossible, and that is why we are still sitting here."

The three began to consider together what they ought to do. They resolved to go to the rock *Nanggar jati*,¹³ and to try to make their return from its top. When they had reached the rock, *Patija raja* began to climb it. He arrived half way up and looked on all sides, but he discovered nothing that could be of use to them in their embarrassment. Only a bare plain was spread before his eyes. Therefore he climbed higher, and first, when he reached the top, he saw the roots of the *Yambu barus* dangling gently above him. He hoped now to be soon back, provided he succeeded in grasping one of the roots, but notwithstanding all his efforts, they still remained out of his reach. He began to lament loudly, for his last hope was gone.

His cries rose upward and were heard by the princess, who

thought that she recognised the voice of her favourite bird. She sent one of her servants to see what had happened, and was soon after aware of the truth. She asked then for her betel-pouch, and opened it so that the scent spread far off, and *Patija raja*, who smelt it, was full of sad thoughts on account of his beloved mistress.

* * * *

Si-tapi Sindar di mata ni ari went to the gate of heaven and took with her a magic ring,¹⁴ her betel-pouch, and seven hen's eggs. When arrived, she sat down and looked downward, upon which, espying *Patija raja*, she said to him: "Do not cry any more but hasten to come up."

"Alas, princess, I cannot reach the roots of the *Yambu baru*, all my endeavours have been in vain."

"Since it cannot be otherwise, you must make up your mind to go down again; I shall take care that you want nothing."

She let down the magic ring and gave *Patija raja* these directions: "When you three have settled on the *Tanjuk tolu*, then you must open the eggs, and you will find in them all the plants and trees which you may require; but if you want to have cattle, you must call on the magic ring, and you will get not only cattle but also all kinds of animals, habitations, council-houses, and whatever more you may wish for."

When the adventurers found themselves together again on *Tanjuk tolu*, they opened the eggs, scattered round about them the contents, and by this means soon saw splendid fields and gardens appear. In a short time they were, by the power of the magic ring, put in possession of houses and all they wanted.

They feasted then, eating and drinking good things, and settled also that *Patija raja* should be king, the swallow vice-king, and the cowflea commander of the warriors of the newly established village. Then they prayed to *Batara guru* that they might have offspring in order to people the village.

* * * *

When he had heard their prayer, *Batara guru* ordered his sister *Pandan rumari*,¹⁵ to go to the earth.

"But, brother, how shall I get there?"

"Do not be anxious about your journey, aunt; I shall make it as easy as possible for you," said *Si-tapi Sindar di mata ni ari*.

"You must choose a good spot to settle there, aunt; and when you have made your establishment, you must promise me that on the next festival Saturday,¹⁶ you will come on to the top of the rock."

Si-tapi Sindar di mata ni ari now twisted her hair into a basket, wherein her aunt *Pandan rumari*, after having put a

magic ring on her finger, placed herself to be let down on the *Nanggar jati*. When she arrived on the top, she looked fearfully round about, but finally went down the rock. She settled at the foot of it, and called her abode *Pulo porlak pagaran*. When the festival Saturday arrived, *Pandan rumari* went to the top of the *Nanggar jati*, where the roots of the *Yambu barus* still dangled. She tried to take hold of one, but failed, and, not knowing what to do, she began to weep loudly.

At the moment *Si-tapi Sindar mata ni ari* heard the sobbing, she said to herself: "Is not this my aunt?" And going to the gate of heaven to look down, she found at once that she was right. At the same time she remembered what had been concerted. She ordered a servant to bring her a woman's jacket, a jew's harp, a pair of ear ornaments, a mirror, and lemons, twelve different kinds grown on the same branch. She let all these things down to her aunt and then took leave of her with the following words: "Go back down the rock, dear aunt, and take with you the bird *Imbulu Man*, who can be of service to you, if you want to enter into relation with *Patija raja* and his comrades."

Pandan rumari then got the bird *Imbulu Man*¹⁷ to accompany her, who was no ordinary bird, since she had no feathers, and she was like a human being as regarded her skin. She was also, through the will of *Batara guru*, pregnant of a human fruit.

When she had returned to her dwelling, *Pandan rumari*, on account of the situation in which the bird found herself, gave her an appropriate couch, surrounded by mats arranged like curtains.

* * * *

One day, *Pandan rumari* lighted a great fire, the smoke of which rose on high and was perceived by the inhabitants of *Tanjuk tolu*.

"Go and see who makes a fire there," said *Patija raja* to the swallow.

"But when I arrive there and find somebody, I shall have to say something."

"If you do not know the person, ask him who has made him come there."

The swallow came to *Pandan rumari* and asked her who had sent her to that place. "*Batara guru* sent me here. But you come as if called for, because *Imbulu Man* must be with you at *Tanjuk tolu*," answered *Pandan rumari*.

When the swallow arrived at *Tanjuk tolu* with *Imbulu Man*, this last addressed *Patija raja* as follows: "The reason why I have been sent here by the princess, is that I should provide

you offspring so that you do not remain without subjects." After some time, *Imbulu Man* was delivered of two daughters, of whom *Patija raja* and the swallow each took one for his wife. If *Imbulu Man* were to give birth to one more daughter later, then the cowflea was to have her for a wife. The cowflea was by no means satisfied, and thinking that he might have to wait a very long time for his wife, he secretly got *Imbulu Man* with child, in order to secure his wish. It appeared soon that she was again pregnant, and she declared that this was the cowflea's doing; but he was let off after a slight reprimand from *Patija raja*.

Imbulu Man was afterwards delivered of a son, who had the name of *Bala porang*. After that *Patija raja* had by his wife a son, to whom they gave the name of *Raja Manuksang di portibi*. As for the swallow, he had two daughters, the one of whom they called *Sada lumban*, and the other *Boru domu*; at the feast of the naming of his daughters, the swallow gave himself the title of *Namora Mangipa*.

As they made their children intermarry, the inhabitants of *Tanjuk tolu* could soon rejoice in the possession of numerous descendants, whose swarms filled the newly founded village.

NOTES.

¹ The title of the Batak original is *Huta porjolo*. The text of it forms part of the manuscripts bequeathed by Dr. H. N. v. d. Tuuk to the library of the National University of Leyden. The original reproduced here, I found in a letter of v. d. Tuuk, sent to the Dutch Bible Society, which has kindly allowed me to publish it.

² *Batara guru doli*, i.e., *Batara guru* the man, is the upper god of the Bataks, since his father, *Mula djadi na bolon*, i.e., the great origin of being, like the Kronos of the old Grecian mythology, was put into the background (*vide* Pleyte, "Bataksche Vertellingen," p. 278, note 8.)

³ *Si-mangera-era* is probably an ornamental expression for *Si mangira-ira*, the one who rustles.

⁴ The holy figs tree whose roots touch the top of the *Nanggar djuti*, the rock which the gods used to come down to on earth, the way used by privileged mortals, who were allowed to visit the heavenly regions (*vide* "Bat. Vert." p. 127 etc.). Some authors have compared this rock with the mount Meru of the Hindus. But it is not at all necessary to do so in order to explain the appearance of this mountain in Batak mythology, since it is a well known fact that in the legends of the Alfurus of Minahasa and Central-Celebes, on the Kei Islands, etc., and in the sacred tales of the South Sea Islanders, people who never came in contact with the Hindus, a mountain fulfils the same function as the *Nanggar jati* of the Bataks.

⁵ These first lines form a *tonggo-tonggo*, an invocation, the very usual beginning of Batak tales.

⁶ A princess of the heavens, mentioned in a great number of tales. In Mandailing, she is called *Si-tapi Singgar di mata ni ari*. Both names

signify *Si-tapi*, illuminated by the sun (*vide* "Bataksche Vertellingen," p. 232).

⁷ All that seems to be known of these birds is that they belong to the retinue of *Batara guru*.

⁸ Messengers of the gods of the upper regions to the mortals of our planet.

⁹ Such a jacket, which is provided with wings, is called *mahijang*, and is used: *tattan lao mijur habok kabong lao tu ginjang*, i.e., to hover downward, to fly upward. These flying jackets are the exclusive property of *Batara guru*. These jackets, though the possibility is not excluded that they are of Indian invention, did not come into the tales of the Malayo-Polynesians during the period of their invasion of Indonesia for the same reasons as the *Nanggar jati*. We find them, for instance, in the stories of all the Indonesian tribes, therefore also among those who did not come in contact with the Hindus as well as on the New-Hebrides, which fact shows clearly that if they are of Asiatic importation, this importation must have taken place in a period much older than the invasion of the Hindus, and this probably in the days when the peoples who form the Malayo-Polynesian family nowadays, had not yet begun their exodus to the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the South Seas, but were still living in the upper regions of India Minor, Malaka, Burmah, Cambodia, etc.

¹⁰ *Tanjuk tolu*. No particulars about the place where this rock was situated are given.

¹¹ Cowflea is a kind of large tick, not yet baptised by science.

¹² This is the first time that we meet in Batak folklore with the mention of fire as brought down from heaven to earth. The Bataks seem, therefore, to have had their Prometheus, though his name could not escape oblivion. In connection herewith it must be noted, that in the creation legends of the Alfurus of Central-Celebes, especially among the tribes surrounding the lake of *Poso*, a legend runs which shows a particular affinity to the Batak story. *Lamoa*, the creator of men, provided them also with fire, but on a certain day all the fire went out, not a single spark remained glowing. In these sad circumstances a man named *Tambuja* resolved to go to heaven to fetch the so eagerly desired fire. At his arrival the inhabitants of the heavens promised to give him fire if he would allow them to cover his eyes, in order that he might not see how they managed in making fire. He consented, but lifting up his arms to put his hand before his eyes, he uncovered his armpits, in which he had also eyes, so that he saw how a knife was struck against a flint so that the sparks flew about and set a piece of wood on fire. The burning stick was given to *Tambuja*, who took it with him on his return, with the secret of fire making. The point of the Batak and Alfuru Prometheus having eyes under their arms is so striking, that we may accept it that both stories sprang from the same source. To prove it is as yet impossible, since identical legends from the Indonesians are not published, so far as I can ascertain (*vide* Kruyt, "Alb. C. De legenden der Poso-Alfoeren aangaande de eerste menschen. Meded. v. w. het Nederl. Zendelingenootschap," 1894, p. 341).

¹³ *Nanggar jati* (see note 4), was formerly an immense rock reaching to the sky. All that is left of it now, according to tradition, is a low hill in the Si pirok country since *Malin Deman* and his friends crushed it to pieces after their return from the divine lands (*vide* "Bat. Vert." pp. 142, 225). It must be remarked that the destroying by violence of the mountain that formed the way to heaven is also familiar in Indonesian folklore; compare the story of *Warereh*, who splits the *Lokon* in Graafland, "Minahassa I," 143; also in Hickson, "A Naturalist in North Celebes," p. 248 ff.

¹⁴ In the dialects of the West Coast this ring is called *tittit si-padjadi-djadi*, the all creating ring, in those of the East Coast, *sinsing pinta pinta*, wishing ring.

¹⁵ This passage throws light on one of the obscure points of Batak mythology. *Ina ni si pandan rumare* or *rumari* figures in several tales as an old widow friendly to men, living in a kind of paradise named *Pulo porlak pagaran*, i.e., fenced island garden. Till now her origin was unknown, though it had already been remarked that she bears diverse names, for instance that of *Ina si rondo kajo* or *Rumbio kajo* in Mandailing. The late Dr. v. d. Tuuk had moreover shown that *Pandaa rumari* is the same as *Ninik Kabajan* in the *Hikajat si-miskin*, and as *Rubijah randa kaja* in the legends of the *Menangkabau-Malays*; but he had given no indication of the origin ascribed to her in the Batak belief. At present we know that she is a sister of *Batara guru*, therefore a deity. The identity of *Pandan rumari* = *Rondo kajo* with *Rubijah randa kaja* has also this consequence that *Pandan rumari* is identical with the Mandailing divinity *Tuwan rumbio kajo*. This higher power, therefore, living in the fifth heaven, and controlling agriculture, according to the Mandailings, is feminine, and not, as was generally considered, masculine.

¹⁶ The festive Saturday, *Samisara na godang*, more generally named *Samisara purnama*, is the day preceding the night of the full moon. As the Bataks reckon their months by moons, this day is for them always the fourteenth of the month.

¹⁷ *Imbulu Man* was a featherless bird, which received its feathers from other birds, and thence was called *Naga portuppuwan*, i.e., *Naga*, dressed in that which is brought together. He is the hero of many tales, and was born from a drop of clotted blood on which a hawk had been brooding as on an egg.

JUNE 9TH, 1896.

E. W. BRABROOK, Esq., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The election of Miss G. M. GODDEN was announced.

The death of Dr. ROBERT BROWN was announced.

Mr. H. W. SETON-KARR exhibited some flint implements from the Egyptian desert, and remarked that during previous journeys for lion shooting in Somali-land he had brought home implements for examination. On the last or fifth journey his object was entirely to search for implements of larger size, of distinct palæolithic character. Previously he had seen and studied the general shape and size in Sir John Evans's collection. He was very fortunate to find a large number. Before the collection was dispersed he photographed it; and these, as photos, with a number of Somali-land life and scenery, were exhibited. Sir

John Evans and other authorities were now of opinion that they were of palæolithic age, and Sir John Evans had so stated on April 30th last before the Royal Society.

With regard to the Egyptian implements he found in the spring on the desert, he would suggest they might be the Æthiopic stones of Herodotus, used for embalming purposes. Sir John Evans and others, however, were of opinion they were much older; stone arrowheads, we are told, were used as late as the 18th dynasty. He thought Africa might prove to be the cradle of a portion, at any rate, of the human race.

Mr. READ expressed his gratification at the fine series of Egyptian implements shown, but he ventured to demur to the assumption that these had been accepted as of palæolithic age. He did not remember that either Sir John Lubbock or General Pitt-Rivers had claimed so high an antiquity for the similar implements discovered by them. Mr. Read's impression was that Professor Petrie had, at a comparatively recent date, demonstrated the existence of palæolithic implements in Egypt, and that his attribution of so remote an age to the implement found by him at Esneh was founded principally, if not entirely, upon its position, viz., 200 feet above the present Nile.¹

With regard to the Somali-land implements, Mr. Read said he had a few words to add to his remarks on the previous occasion. On a recent visit to Brussels he had discussed the matter with M. Dupont, the well known Director of the Natural History Museum there. M. Dupont had seen photographs of Mr. Seton-Karr's implements, and declared positively that such remains were by no means uncommonly found on the surface in the Congo district, that he himself had brought some back, and that from his observations as a geologist he had come to the conclusion that they were remains of the recent stone age of Africa, *i.e.*, neolithic.

Mr. Read thought it worthy of some consideration whether in Africa might not be found one of the spots in the globe where there was no gap between palæolithic and neolithic man. There seemed every probability that if such a favoured spot was to be found, as had been ably argued by Sir Henry Howorth in his "Mammoth and the Flood," it would be within the tropics.

Major-General ROBLEY exhibited a collection of baked heads of Maoris, all bearing tattooing except one of an infant, and made the following remarks:—

¹ Petrie, "Ten Years' Diggings in Egypt," 1892, p. 77.

Most of the early writers on New Zealand mention the practice of preserving heads. It was general before Captain Cook's time, and the first ever obtained by Europeans was procured by Mr. Banks, January 7th, 1770. In old days the distinction was first reserved for persons of importance. The principal object seems to have been to keep alive the memory of the dead, and the *moko mokai*, as they were called, supplied the places of statues and monumental records. In the case of a departed chief it was a visible sign that in some mysterious way his presence was among the people. It was no uncommon thing for the head of a beloved relative to be embalmed.

Such were always kept in greatest esteem, they were a memorial of the grief of the survivors, and kept to show relatives and friends who were absent at the decease. The origin of the embalming is involved in obscurity, in common with everything relating to the early customs of the Maori.

Weight must be given to the consideration that warriors would wish to show, as trophies, heads of the enemy, but while those of friends were carefully guarded, these latter were exposed on tops of posts so that the prowess of the tribe might be seen.

These enemies' heads played a part in the negotiations for peace, as an exchange was an indispensable article in the treaty.

The Maoris did not entirely reserve their treatment of heads for their own race, and many heads of white men have been dried; there are some existing in collections. The last instance was in 1864, when Captain Lloyd, of the 57th Regiment, and his detachment fell into ambuscade at Te Ahuhu, on April 6th. The Maoris cut off the heads of the fallen and they were used in the orgies of the Hauhaus.

Captain Lloyd's was afterwards given up, but in 1865 one soldier's head was used by them as a mystic symbol.

The old embalming consisted in the removal of all the interior of the head and drying in smoke fire after a careful steaming or even basting. This process was so good that many heads are in splendid condition even now though over 60 and 100 years old. The form of features was fairly kept, and the identity of the deceased easily recognized, for the tattooing kept its place exactly on the face.

The first head taken to Sydney was in 1811. Until Europeans visited New Zealand these heads had only a sentimental value; but after 1820 the natives were first armed with muskets, and a depopulation of the islands began. To save itself from extinction, a tribe had to give it's all for arms and ammunition, and then it was that specimen heads came into exchange, and a regular traffic arose, which attained such dimensions that slaves were tattooed and their heads sold.

Old grudges were raked up, and small wars undertaken, to keep up the supply.

In 1831, some European dealers in heads were so treated themselves in New Zealand, but the escapade of a sea captain brought the scandal into prominent notice, and the famous Sydney Government order of April 16th, 1831, was enacted, which put a final stop to the trade in Maori heads.

Ladies looking at one of these exhibited heads might wonder if the object ever was loved by wife or sweetheart; men would think rather of what *mêlée* or ambuscade the first owner fell in, and whether friend, foe, or master, used the tomahawk to its neck. It may be observed that the Maoris had splendid teeth and hair, and the shape of the head of good specimens of the old natives is long, with heavy jaw.

A few heads have the real eyes left in, or false ones added; but generally the eyelids are closed, as the Maoris thought that by looking into the empty orbits they were in danger of being bewitched.

As regards the tattooing, which is from chin to the roots of the hair, that which has been cut deeply with the dyed chisels made of bone, shows deep furrows in the skin; this was the old style.

When, at a later period, implements made of iron were used, the tracery was much finer, and the furrows not so deep. Seldom are there marks of pricking; the work was nearly always done by cutting. Of course the black dye looks dark blue on the skin.

In some specimens, the tattooing has been accentuated by post-mortem cuts going over the patterns done during life. The tattoo on the lips does not show well as it was not cut so deep on such a tender part.

The heads exhibited to the Institute are all in good keeping.

2 are heads of men with grey hair.

1 that of an infant.

1 a head preserved by relations.

The remaining ten are warriors, some having wounds. One has a long elf lock which was the old custom of mourning for the death of a near relative as we learn from Dr. Holken, of Dunedin, a great authority on Maori lore.

As no two Maoris were ever tattooed alike, all these are differently adorned, both as regards pattern, quantity, and quality. My book on "Moko" (4to, Chapman and Hall), with 131 illustrations, goes fully into the subject of the Maori arts of tattooing and embalming; it should be of use to the student, many high authorities having aided in the work.

The following papers were read:—

"An account of some skulls discovered at Brandon, Suffolk."

By C. S. MYERS, Esq.

"Social Life in Fanti-land." By Dr. R. M. CONNOLLY.

An ACCOUNT of some SKULLS discovered at BRANDON, SUFFOLK.
By CHARLES S. MYERS, B.A., Shuttleworth Scholar of
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

A. Introductory.

AT Professor Macalister's request, I undertook during the month of July, 1895, to measure and describe this series of sixty-three skulls, then recently secured by him for the Anatomical Museum of Cambridge University. The circumstances under which the skulls were obtained did not allow of my presence at their excavation; but I have visited the spot where the discovery was made, and have gathered all possible information on the matter. Brandon is a village and parish on the borders of Suffolk and Norfolk, which are here separated by the Little Ouse or Brandon River. Lying on the eastern margin of the fens, Brandon has long been noted for its flint quarries, as they are believed to have been worked continuously since the Neolithic Period. The majority of the inhabitants are dark, a feature that contrasts with the general Anglian fairness of Norfolk and Suffolk. Their language and customs are said still to bear evidence of pre-Roman times.^(a) Two Roman camps once lay situated within a very few miles from Brandon. Near them and Brandon ran the Icknield Way, an old road probably built by the Iceni before the Roman invasion.

The skulls were found in a field just outside Brandon within 80 yards from the river. In February, 1894, an infuriated bull tore up the earth at the spot and revealed a skull. No active notice, however, was taken of this discovery until the spring of the following year, when three holes were dug in the sandy soil. The first was crescentic, measuring 18 yards in length, and averaging 3 yards in breadth; the other two holes were smaller, about 8 x 4 yards, and have not hitherto yielded so many skulls as the first. These three holes were dug on the top of a large circular elevation, about 50 yards in diameter, which was surrounded by a depressed area of ground and at no point rose more than 3 feet above the average plain of the grassy meadow. Along the whole extent of the

rise the labourers are fully confident of discovering further human remains.¹ A second elevation lies near it, separated by a slightly depressed area. But in each case the slope is so gentle as to be only noticeable to the observant eye. I cannot find, either in the Ordnance Survey Maps or elsewhere, that the field has borne any name significant of a burial place. Nor have I discovered historical records, local or general, that prove of any assistance. Arrow-heads have been frequently met with in the neighbourhood. Half a mile distant from the field, broken specimens of Roman, British and Samian ware have been found in abundance. Skulls which have never been described and now enjoy private ownership were dug up at Weeting, a few miles from Brandon. Camden makes mention^(b) of the discovery of skulls even nearer to Brandon. The skeletons of the present series were found entire, but it was by no means rare to find parts of the same body separated by some distance. No bones were discovered at a depth exceeding 4 feet. There was a complete absence of display of orientation in burial; it was equally common to find bodies lying over, parallel to or across each other. No ornaments nor any pottery came to light. Large pieces of iron were dug up, but they had so decayed that it was impossible to pronounce on their former use. The soil was sandy, coloured here and there by the rust that had diffused through it. The skeletons of the present series are in remarkably good condition: they include those of men and women which are found in almost equal numbers, of three children and of several horses. In many cases the human calvaria are curiously worn away, even to the diploë, in the form of a ring, as if some heavy instrument had pressed on them. No. 686 has such a character over the right parietal region. No. 708 has a long sickle-shaped groove running from right to left across the lambda and the parietal bones. No. 760 presents a completely circular groove which runs, fillet-like, around the horizontal circumference. A few of the skulls bear holes of which some are of new, others are of old, formation. No. 708 shows a hole in the middle of the right half of the coronal suture; it measures 30×21 mm. and has eroded pits in its neighbourhood. No. 734 has a circular ragged-edged hole, 8×13 mm. below the right squamous suture. No. 761 has a wide, evidently recent gash through the bone on the right of the obelion. No. 759 presents a circular hole above the left occipital condyle. No. 764 has a similar hole on the right squamous bone, 11 mm. in diameter. Of these

¹ Since the above was written, the Cambridge Museum has acquired some additional fifty-eight skulls, which, sharing the general characters of the first find, are not mentioned here save in a few scattered notes.

five skulls which present holes, three are female. I can offer no satisfactory explanation of the holes and annular markings.

Between the skulls of this series there is that general want of resemblance which at once convinces the observer that he has to deal with the representatives of more than one primitive race. There are skulls megaseme and microseme, leptorhine and platyrhine, orthognathous and mesognathous, dolichocephalic and brachycephalic. The burial-ground was that of a tribe or people of impure ethnic character, since between the various types hereafter defined certain skulls of this series show every possible gradation. Inasmuch as there is no historical record concerning these skulls, nor display of orientation in their burial, we may in consideration of discoveries in the neighbourhood assign these remains to a people that lived antecedent to the Saxon invasion. Indeed, there is but one skull (No. 693) in this series¹ that presents in any degree the physical characters of Saxon crania. It has the massive ovoid form, the well-filled appearance, the full, projecting occiput, and heavy jaw with everted angles, which are characteristic of the skulls of Saxon races. If the Brandon skulls date, as there is every reason to believe, from an age prior to the Saxon invasion, the presence of a Saxon in England at this date demonstrates that the Saxon invasion took place more gradually than history would have us conceive, or that Saxons were included in the auxiliary forces introduced by the Romans. Doubtless both these alternatives are true. Even in pre-Roman times, the Iceni were a mixed people. Thus the Roman institution of the *Comes Litoris Saxonica* becomes fraught with a new meaning. On some such hypotheses, the early Brandon folk may well have received a sprinkling of Saxon settlers along the Icknield Way from the eastern ports.

B. Descriptive.

With the exception of a few cases, I have only employed those general measurements and indices which have conclusively proved of value in race-discrimination. I have throughout considered Professor Sergi's energetic protest(c) against a too implicit reliance on cranial indices when they are unaccompanied by descriptions of the various *normæ*, and I have not hesitated to adopt many of the convenient terms framed by him for the varieties in form of *norma verticalis*. I think that few will be found who consent to the limits to which Professor Sergi pushes his iconoclastic

¹ The further additions to the Brandon skulls include two or three of Saxon-like character.

doctrines; yet I am not disposed to deny the truth of his statement that sexual differences do not really impair nor alter the types under which the crania are classed. Very great experience, however, is necessary before such an admission can be made of actual use in practice.

In grouping the series, I have omitted the six young or distorted skulls (Nos. 681, 697, 701, 706, 711, and 745); these will be considered separately. The normal adult skulls have been divided into three groups, according as they fall within the limits of brachy-, mesati-, or dolicho-cephaly. On the whole, this seems the least unreliable method of grouping for the discrimination of race-characters, although the arbitrariness with which the mesaticephalic group is formed may seem almost Draconian.

Deducting the young, distorted and unmeasurable skulls, we have a series of fifty-one skulls remaining, of which five belong to the brachycephalic, twenty-three to the mesaticephalic, and twenty-three to the dolichocephalic groups. Of the whole series it can only be remarked that the glabella is never prominent, that the supraorbital ridges and glabella in no case form a ridge across the skull, and that a torus is never present. The groups will now be considered in detail.

(a) *The brachycephalic group.*

Of the five skulls¹ four are male, and one is female. In only three are the facial measurements possible.

Calvarium.—The frontal region is broad and the frontal eminences are raised, so that the forehead is full and well-developed. The parietal eminences are also placed high up on the skull, causing the norma verticalis to have a regularly ovoid or ellipsoid form. The zygomatic arches are just concealed in a vertical view. Except for a slight rise in the region of the bregma, the profile of the skull describes an even, uninterrupted arc from the ophryon to the opisthion. The skull is very low and somewhat flattened; the occiput is not prominent. Viewed posteriorly, the skull has a much flattened pentagonal form. The lateral walls of the skull project but slightly; the whole calvarium is massive, but neither the mastoid nor other muscular processes are prominent. The maximum occipital point lies about two centimetres above the union. The conceptacula cerebelli are regular and almost horizontal.

Face.—The face is very short and broad. The basi-alveolar

¹ A proportionally small number of brachycephalic skulls occur in the more recent additions to this collection.

length is most remarkably short. The orbits are broad, and the infraorbital portions of the maxilla are deeply sunk, causing the malar bones to seem very prominent. The zygomatic processes of the temporal bones have an exceptionally wide splay. The shape of the nasal bones and of the apertura pyriformis is not constant; it tends to a rather flattened form of nose and an indistinct inferior margin of the aperture. The palate is small and generally elliptical. The teeth are large, a third molar is present. The mandible is wide and heavy, with everted angles and a small chin.

(b) *The dolichocephalic group.*

Of these twenty-three skulls, twelve are male and eleven female.

Calvarium.—The frontal region is narrow and ill-filled, so that the zygomatic arches which project slightly outwards are visible in a vertical view of the skull. Among the most dolichocephalic skulls there is a tendency to scaphocephaly. Two forms of norma verticalis occur, which depend for their difference on the shape of the always prominent and capsular occiput. The latter varies between (1) an extremely pointed form which gives the norma verticalis an *ellipsoid* shape, and (2) a more rounded, fuller form which causes the roof to appear somewhat coffin-shaped, or, in Professor Sergi's nomenclature, *rhomboid*. The main feature associated with the rhomboid skull is a practically horizontal inferior plane of the occipital bone. The sloping pointed appearance of the posterior end of the ellipsoid skull is not confined to the occipital bone, but often starts from the parietal tubera, and thus causes the outline in profile view to descend with great suddenness from these eminences to the most projecting point of the occiput. The latter point lies a few centimetres above the inion. The skulls are in neither case markedly high. There is some slight flattening in the region of the bregma. The mastoid processes are small.

Face.—The facial length and breadth are variable. The malar bones are large and especially rough and prominent at the maxillo-malar suture. The nasion lies in an often deep depression, overhung by the supraorbital ridges which are strongly developed only on the inner side of the orbits immediately external to the flattened glabella. The nasal bones are thin and generally long. At their free extremity they are arched concavely forwards. The nose is moderately, at times markedly, ridged. The alveolar border of the external nares is generally ill-marked. The mandible is slight, the coronoid process large, and the angle of the jaw non-everted. The prominence of the well-marked

triangular chin is emphasised by a flattening of that part of the alveolar arch which carries the lower incisor and canine teeth. The teeth, poorly preserved, are of medium size; the third molar is never absent. The teeth are worn unusually flat. The palate is always highly arched and almost U-shaped.

(c) *Mesaticephalic group.*

Of these twenty-three skulls, twelve belong to males, eleven to females. As a group, they are intermediate between the members of the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic groups. Since therefore they present no significant type of their own, I have found myself quite unable to describe any features common to them apart from those already mentioned as common to the whole series. I append the sub-groups into which I have divided the mesaticephalic skulls.

(a) The skull No. 693 stands alone in being far more massive, with stouter malar bones, a more arched calvarium, and a more capsular occiput than any skulls in the brachycephalic group. It is the only skull of probably Saxon origin.¹

(β) Several skulls are obviously of mixed type. In its calvarial form and measurements one, No. 686, appears to correspond with the sub-group (γ), but in its facial measurements agrees closely with the sub-group (δ). Other crania, Nos. 687, 735, and 757, also impure, on the whole fall under sub-group (γ).

(γ) The male skull No. 758, and the female skulls, Nos. 701, 709, 710, 746 and 759, present a general resemblance to the ellipsoid division of the dolichocephalic group. The female skulls, Nos. 685, 694 and 734, and with less certainty No. 760, fall in the same sub-group (δ).

(δ) Three male crania, Nos. 714, 743, and 739, show a general agreement to those of the brachycephalic group above described.

(e) The two very long, broad, capacious but imperfect calvaria Nos. 698, 699, with wide frontal regions, bear a general mutual resemblance.

(ξ) The male skull, No. 703, and calvarium, No. 698, are very like each other in cranial measurements, both of them being on the verge of dolichocephaly. The receding forehead of the latter bears evidence, however, of possible distortion. In another connection I shall give a further description of the former skull.

(η) The female calvarium of rhomboid form No. 708 resembles that division of the dolichocephalic group.

¹ See previous note on p. 115.

(d) Young and distorted skulls.

The young skulls are Nos. 681, 697, and 711.¹ The two latter are exceedingly like each other, with probably a year's difference in age; the one is cutting, the other has just cut its first molar tooth. No. 681 is an older, almost definitely formed cranium of rhomboid form in vertical view, and of markedly pentagonal form in occipital view. The third molar tooth is uncut; the forehead recedes, the muscular processes are small.

The obviously distorted skulls are Nos. 700, 706, 745. The first is exceedingly scaphocephalic, but is so incomplete as to render a full description impossible. It is interesting to note that the sagittal, coronal and lambdoidal sutures are all well-marked. No. 706 presents an irregular posthumous distortion. In No. 745 the coronal suture is absent except at the stephanion, the sagittal suture is almost obliterated, and there are obscure traces of an epactal bone; the skull is so distorted that the maximum point of elevation of the calvarium lies in front of the vertical plane between the two pteria.

THE SUTURES.

With the following few exceptions, the sutures assume a normal course and character. In No. 676, however, they are strikingly simple; they are simple at the glabella in Nos. 687 and 759. The metopic suture is present, completely in Nos. 695, 713, 737 and 764, and partially in Nos. 688 and 693. The basilar suture is open in No. 707.

WORMIAN BONES.

No wormian bones at the pterion (*ossa pterica*) occur in the skulls of this series. They lie most commonly along the course of the lambdoid suture. Two skulls, Nos. 732 and 745, have an obscurely defined bone at the apex of the lambda. Nos. 710 and 737 bear epactal bones measuring 10×21 mm. and 38×34 mm. respectively; the former shows wormian bones near the right asterion. Immediately below the apex of the lambda there are four small bones in No. 687, three on the left, and one on the right arm of the lambdoid suture. No. 714 bears a bone, 14×19 mm., to the right, and No. 734, two large bones to the left of the apex of the lambda. The latter also has a bone at the left, and two at the right asterion. In No. 688, a bone occurs in the left arm of the lambdoid suture; in No. 735, three small bones are present on the right, and five on the left arm of the same suture. At the level of the

¹ Three or four young skulls are included in the results of more recent excavations.

inion in No. 714, there is a small bone on each arm of the lambdoid suture. Below the right asterion, in No. 733, a bone occurs. At the left asterion No. 689 presents a wormian bone. In No. 693 the bregma bears a small bone; another is also situated at the right asterion; just above the right asterion a small bone occurs in No. 744.

THE PTERION.

Where the sutures are not obliterated, the most common form is the pterion in H. No. 694 has a pterion in K on each side. In the young skull, No. 681, the union of the frontal and temporal bones on each side prevents the sphenoidal and parietal bones from meeting.

THE TEETH.

In the short palates which are specially prevalent in brachycephalic skulls, the teeth tend to become crowded out. In No. 679, the second incisor had never been developed, while the lower third molar teeth are pushed back so far that they lie in the same vertical plane with the coronoid process.

THE INDICES.

(i.) *The Cranial Breadth-Index.*

This varies within the limits of 71.2 to 81.1. The brachycephalic skulls are not so numerous as the dolichocephalic, nor is their character so intensified. They are strongly microseme (78-82), are leptorhine or faintly mesorhine and are orthognathous.

(ii.) *The Cranial Height-Index.*

This ranges from 64.1 to 75.4. Thus no skull is distinctly akrocephalic. Of forty skulls, eleven male, and six female skulls are tapeinocephalic, while thirteen male and ten female skulls are metriocephalic. Among the tapeinocephalic the ratio of frequency of the male and female skulls is 9 : 7, and among the metriocephalic is 6 : 7. From this calculation follows the rarely drawn conclusion that in the present series the female skulls are somewhat higher than the male. In only two cases (Nos. 758 and 731) are the height- and breadth-indices equal. In one instance only, No. 678, does the height-index exceed the breadth-index. The most tapeinocephalic skulls are dolichocephalic.

(iii.) *The Facial Indices of Kollmann.*

In a certain number of cases the condition of the zygomatic arches rendered calculation of these indices impossible. In other cases it was a matter of some difficulty to fit the lower

jaw to the skull, a long search being often necessary before a skull could be matched with its strayed jaw. The upper facial index varies from 48.4 to 62.6, the total facial index from 83.9 to 90.1: the latter index was obtainable only in six skulls. Relying, therefore, on the upper facial index, I find that the broad-faced skulls are confined to the brachycephalic and the long-faced to the dolichocephalic group.

(iv.) *The Nasal Index.*

This varies from 43.4 to 62.8. Adopting the method of seriation, I find that of twenty-eight adult skulls, fourteen fall into the leptorhine, nine into the mesorhine, and five into the platyrrhine group. Nineteen of these skulls have a nasal index between 48 and 52. The two young skulls, Nos. 697 and 711, present an index of 52.8 and 56.8 respectively. The most platyrrhine skulls are dolichocephalic, tapeinocephalic and mesoseme; they much resemble each other. In the platyrrhine group the male skulls predominate, 4 : 1.

(v.) *The Orbital Index.*

This ranges within even wider limits than those of the nasal index—from 78 to 100. Of twenty-six instances, sixteen male and ten female skulls, seven fall into the megaseme, seven into the microseme, and twelve into the mesoseme group. The ratio of frequency in the male and female skulls in the microseme group is 31 : 20, in the mesoseme group 63 : 20, and in the megaseme group 1 : 10. Only one microseme skull, No. 686, approaches dolichocephaly. This skull is, as has been before mentioned, probably of very mixed descent. The most megaseme skulls are dolichocephalic and orthognathic.

(vi.) *The Gnathic Index of Flower.*

In the orthognathic brachycephalic skulls, Nos. 679, 687, 688, (Bi. = 78.6–81.8), the basi-alveolar line has the remarkably short length of 84–85 mm. The gnathic index throughout the whole series ranges between 86.7 and 105.3. Only one skull, No. 735, a male, is decidedly prognathous (Gn. i. = 105.3). Of twenty-five adult undistorted skulls seventeen—thirteen male and four female—are orthognathous, and seven—two male and five female—are mesognathous. The gnathic index of eleven skulls falls within the limits 91–96. The mesognathic skulls are all dolichocephalic or nearly so, very tapeinocephalic, and never leptorhine nor microseme.

(vii.) *The Palatal Index.*

In relatively few cases was this index obtainable.

C. *Critical.*

My first impression was that the differentiation of the rhomboid from the ellipsoid form of dolichocephalic crania would prove valueless from the standpoint of race-discrimination. Subsequent constant inspection of the skulls have convinced me that, although there may be a few skulls of pure descent, the majority of the dolichocephalic group belong to no uniform race of men, but show that variety and interchangeability of indices and forms which are so characteristic of mixed peoples. I set to work, therefore, to dissect out from this group elements of British, Roman, Gallic, Saxon and other Teutonic or Celtic nature.

I find that the skull No. 703 and the calvarium No. 698 agree in nearly all physical signs with those of the Long Barrow race; they particularly resemble two skulls of this race of which one was found at Rodmarton, Gloucestershire, and is figured in the "*Crania Britannica*" (Plate 59), and the other was described by Dr. Garson in vol. xxii of this Journal among the skulls of Howe Hill Barrow, Yorkshire. The Howe Hill skulls, lent to the Cambridge Museum, were unfortunately recalled just previous to my discovery of this resemblance. The close correspondence in measurements is readily noticeable.

SKULL FROM.	Length.	Breadth.	Basio-bregmatic height.	Minimum frontal breadth.	Stephanic breadth.	Frontal arc.	Parietal arc.
1. Rodmarton	201	144	139	?	?	136	143
2. Howe Barrow, M ..	194	145	133	100	129	126	139
3. Brandon, 698	194	146	133	?	?	125	128
4. Brandon, 703	194	145	133	92	112	131	131

	Occipital arc.	Nasio-optic length.	Foramen magnum length.	Horizontal circumference.	Auriculo-bregmatic curve.	Bi-auricular curve.	Nasio-mental length.	Nasio-alveolar length.	Ext. bi-orbital length.
1*	131	410	?	556	?	?	114	?	?
2	114	379	42	540	309	121	114	64	109
3	127	380	35	540	323	127	?	?	?
4	124	(386)	?	540	323	123	?	82	105

	Bi-zygomatic breadth.	Maximum maxillary breadth.	Minimum maxillary breadth.	Bigonial breadth.	Inter-orbital breadth.	Orbital breadth.	Orbital length.	Nasal length.	Nasal breadth.
1*	132	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2	134	100	63	105	(23)	40	33	52	24
3	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4	131	98	64	102	24	39	33	53	23

	Palatal length.	Palatal breadth.	Cranial breadth index.	Cranial height index.	Upper facial index.	Nasal index.	Staphano-zygomatic index.	Gnathic index.	Orbital index.
1*	?	?	72	69	?	?	?	?	?
2	54	?	74.7	68.6	?	46.2	96.3	94.2	82.5
3	?	?	75.3	?	?	?	?	?	?
4	53	66	74.7	68.6	62.6	43.6	?	?	84.6

* Compare the first line for an explanation of the skulls.

Nor is the relation between these skulls only discernible in measurement. A reference to the engraving of the Rodmarton skull figured in the "Thesaurus Craniorum" and in the "Crania Britannica" shows that in every point of form the Brandon skull No. 703 offers the closest resemblance to it. This fact may go some way towards establishing the antiquity of the present series of crania, as the existence of so pure a Long-Barrow stock in later years amid an ethnically impure race is at least doubtful.

But this is not the only type of Long Barrow skulls; indeed it is the less familiar of the two which Dr. Garson has been able to differentiate. In the second type the measurements of the height and length of the skull are rather less, the whole cranium is less narrow, the face rather wedge-shaped, and the chin more prominent, while the arch of the skull is more pointed in *norma facialis* and the outline is more ellipsoid in *norma verticalis*. Undoubtedly two of the dolichocephalic Brandon crania, Nos. 676 and 742, belong to this second Long Barrow type. Save that the rhomboid form of the *norma verticalis* is gently persistent, they agree in every one of the particulars just enunciated.

There is no trace of the elements of a Round Barrow race among the Brandon crania. Neither in cephalic breadth-index nor in cephalic height-index do they show any approach to the remarkable hypsibrachycephaly of the Round Barrow skulls. The extreme shortness of the cranium, the height and degree of projection of the parietal eminences, the prominence of glabella and chin—all characteristics of the Round Barrow race—are wanting in the five brachycephalic members of this series.¹

The origin of the Round Barrow race has been much debated from the earliest times of anthropological history. In particular they have been identified by some with the Cimbri, by others with the Belgæ. Our knowledge of the Cimbri, indeed, is no less

¹ They are also absent in those skulls which have come to light since this paper was written.

uncertain. Tacitus speaks of them as inhabiting the Chersonese, *i.e.*, Jutland and Schleswig-Holstein. They have been variously described as Teutonic or Celtic. With greater precision others have associated them with the neolithic Danes. Those who assert that the Belgæ were the Round Barrow race attribute to them the introduction of bronze into England. Now whatever be the origin of this race, whether it be of Cimbrian or of some other descent, it was with fair certainty not Belgic. The provinces formerly occupied by the Belgæ are now inhabited, as M. Collignon has shown, by the longest-headed people of France. Neolithic discoveries in this region point to the same conclusion. Therefore, if any migration of Belgic Gauls took place at or before the Roman invasion, it was a wash not of brachycephalic, but of dolichocephalic people that the British shores received. Dr. Verneau, working on the dolmen at Les Mureaux in the canton of Meulan and in the old Belgic province, has published^(d) measurements and figures of various skulls. These I have compared with the Brandon series in the hope of discovering some traces of resemblance, if ever any Belgic dolichocephalic folk penetrated into Suffolk. So far as comparisons are possible without actual view of both collections, I have been unable to establish any relation between them.

The brachycephalic skulls of the present series are absolutely as distinct from other Gallic skulls, with which I have compared them, as they are from the British Round Barrow type. I have been equally unsuccessful in an endeavour to find traces of a true Roman or Italian element among them. Neither in the Nicolucci collection of the Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons, nor among the skulls described by Barnard Davis in the "*Thesaurus Craniorum*," have I found Italian skulls that show noteworthy resemblance to the Brandon series. The latter do not possess the delicate aquiline nose, the prominent supraciliary ridges, the square face and jaw which are characteristic of the ancient Roman race. Of what race, then, are these brachycephalic Brandon skulls? Decision so far has been guided solely by the method of exclusion; we are in a position to say what they probably are *not*. Beyond criticism of this negative character I have nothing to offer. Perhaps I may add one note which I find that I have made. In the Cambridge Museum there are several skulls styled Romano-British, resembling the brachycephalic skulls of the present series. They may be the results of similar conditions of intermarriage.

There is considerable evidence to show that a large Germanic population was introduced at the Roman invasion. In many cases, at least, the German chiefs were allies of the Romans

and with armed followers were brought over to England, being entrusted with the conquest of various parts of the country. Latham quotes^(e) from a panegyric of Mamertius to prove that as early as in the reign of Diocletian (284–305 A.D.) there were Germans in Britain. Moreover, in the reign of Constantine the younger (337–340 A.D.), Crocus, an Alemannic king, was proclaimed emperor at York. Still later, within twenty miles of Brandon, Buckenham in Norfolk was probably the settlement of the Bucinobantes (about 372 A.D.), an Alemannic tribe who with their chief Fraomar landed in Britain under the orders of Valentinian. Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. 380 A.D.) locates the home of the Bucinobantes opposite Mainz on the right bank of the Rhine, and states that Fraomar was given the authority of a tribune in England (Bk. xxix, chap. 4). Tacitus again speaks of certain German tribes that had fought (69 A.D.) with great bravery in Britain ("Hist," iv., 12). Indeed, extending from Cæsar's mention ("de Bello Gallico," v, 12) of the migration of continental tribes into Britain down to the times of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, ample evidence exists to show that from a very early date various Germanic peoples began to settle in this country.

The Alemannic skulls conform to a type which at the hands of Germanic anthropologists has received the name, *Reihen-gräber* or *Grave-Row*. I have been impressed with the likeness of certain skulls in the present series to many of the old *Grave-Row* type, and I venture to publish the results of my comparison, seeing how near to Brandon an Alemannic tribe had probably once settled. So far as I know, it is the first attempt to establish a definite relation between these Alemannic tribes and the early people of Britain. The characteristics of the *Grave-Row* type are summed up by Ecker^(f); they are in every way applicable to the ellipsoid division of the dolichocephalic Brandon skulls. The cranium, he says, is long, the forehead rather narrow and frequently low; the superciliary arches are generally well-developed, the vault is either flat or rises from the temporal crest to the sagittal suture like the sides of a roof; the parietal tubera are insignificant except in children and women. "Above all the marked development of the occiput is especially characteristic." The great occipital projection, he continues, is in the form either of a cone or of a pyramid. The maximum occipital point lies above and behind the external occipital protuberance. The infranuchal plane of the occiput is nearly horizontal.

In thus condensing Ecker's description I feel that I am merely re-stating the characters of the ellipsoid group of dolichocephalic skulls. I pass over the work of v. Hölder, whose

conclusions are substantially those of Ecker, and come to the more exhaustive papers of Gildemeister. This anthropologist divides the Reihengräber type into two divisions, according as the parietal eminences are strongly or feebly developed. In certain features the Brandon skulls appear to agree with the one division, in others with the second division which Gildemeister, to my mind somewhat arbitrarily, has thus made. Like Ecker,^(s) he lays stress on the absolutely peculiar prominence of the occiput, the height of the orbits, the delicacy of the upper jaw, the length of the palate and the degree of orthognathism, features all of which are noticeable to a varying extent in the ellipsoid group of the present series. Out of the seven skulls (three male, Nos. 713, 736, 738, and four female, Nos. 709, 710, 746, 759), which perhaps most markedly bear the Grave-Row or "Batavian"¹ characteristics, not one allows of the usual measurements being completely taken. I am unable, therefore, to present collaterally the indices of the Brandon skulls with those of the Alemannic crania. But to my mind there is little lost by this, since the averages deduced by His, Ecker, v. Hölder and Virchow from their respective measurements differ from each other considerably. The average cephalic index of the type is variously computed to be 70·7, 71·3, 72 and 74·9. The height-index ranges from 67 to 78·2. Lastly Gildemeister shows three female skulls in the Bremen collection which have a nasal index of 54·0, 63·1, 55·0 respectively. However, in spite of the obvious admixture of alien blood in later times, there is every reason to believe that the Grave-Row type, which so many anthropologists have emphasised, formerly existed pure. The types which Gildemeister figures may therefore be accepted as genuine, in spite of the subsequent penetration of the allied Saxon and of eastern elements. I venture to say that the outlines of these skulls as seen in the accompanying plate convince one with far greater eloquence than would a column of indices and measurements.

History and physical anthropology tend thus to show the settlement of Alemannic tribes at Brandon. Beddoe speaks of the Alemannic as a fair-haired people sprung from a stock common to the Saxons and Franks. Now dark and red hair has also been found in Alemannic graves. The predominance of black hair in Brandon at the present day would therefore lead one to conclude that the pure Alemanni had a high index of nigrescence or that the dark-haired British have prevailed over their fair invaders.

¹ Except that they are lower and have a more prominent temporo-parietal region, the "Batavian" resembles the Grave-Row types.

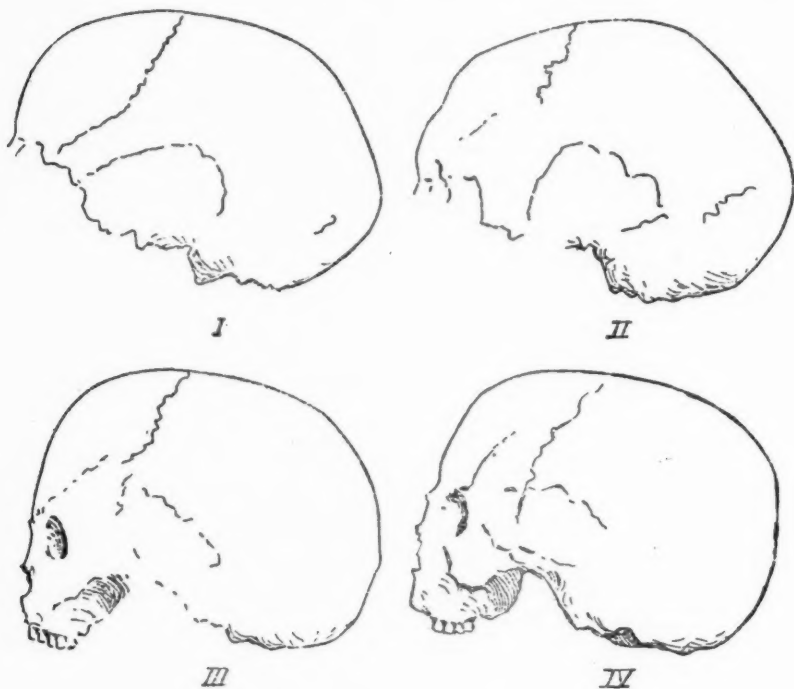
SUMMARY.

- (1) The brachycephalic skulls, which are orthognathous, microseme and leptorhine, agree most closely with the "Romano-British type" which is to be found throughout England in old Roman settlements.
- (2) The dolichocephalic skulls resolve themselves into the Long Barrow types (of Garson) and the Reihengräber types (of Gildemeister).
- (3) The platyrhine, mesognathous, mesoseme group of subdolichocephalic skulls may owe its occurrence to the appearance of Slaves concomitant with the Roman invasion of Britain.
- (4) There is not more than one definitely Saxon skull in the series.
- (5) The larger number of skulls exhibit characters intermediate between these various types. The burial-ground belonged, therefore, to a people which had for some time been living in a state of friendship and intermarriage, although composed of such ethnically diverse races as have been dissected out. Villages of the neighbourhood retain to this day evidences of a once prevalent system of strict endogamy. The existence of this custom induces the anthropologist to place greater reliance in his conclusions, especially when, as in the present series, the proof of the antiquity of the skulls is extremely unsatisfactory.

For allowing me the material for this paper, and for ever-ready and valued help, I have to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Macalister.

References.

- (a) "The Races of Britain." By Dr. John Beddoe. (Bristol, 1885.)
- (b) "Britannia." By Camden. (Londinii, 1586.)
- (c) "Le Varietà Umane." Principi e metodo di classificazione. By Dr. Giuseppe Sergi (Turin).
- (d) "L'Allée Couverte des Mureaux." By Dr. Verneau. ("L'Anthropologie," 1890.)
- (e) "The Ethnology of the British Isles." By R. G. Latham. (London, 1852.)
- (f) "Crania Germanica meridionalis occidentalis." By Dr. A. Ecker. (Freiburg, 1865.)
- (g) "Ein Betrag zur Kenntniss norddeutscher Schädelformen." By Dr. Gildemeister. ("Archiv f. Anth.," 1878.)



Explanation of the Plate.

FIG. I.—No. 736 of the Brandon skulls.

FIG. II.—A variety of the Grave-Row type.

FIG. III.—No. 760 of the Brandon skulls.

FIG. IV.—The "Batavian" type.

FIGS. II and IV are copied from Gildemeister's paper (*loc. cit.*). They are also to be found in Beddoe's "Races of Britain" (pp. 46, 47).

SOCIAL LIFE in FANTI-LAND. By R. M. CONNOLLY.

LIFE on the western coast of Africa, whether one be trader or official, French, German or British, would be as desolate as Ovid found his residence at Tomi, did not the mind find a diversion in a vigilant observation of the habits of the primitive folk. There is frequently a disposition on the part of a white population sojourning among a negro people both from a sense of superiority and from familiarity to regard native customs, symbols, and beliefs, as unworthy the attention of an European. But in an explanation of these lies a power as great as that of the wand of Prospero to drive the clouds of darkness from many

a practice whose origin is lost in antiquity. In such a country as the Gold Coast with its hinterland of Ashanti, no native ceremonial may be passed unnoticed without a loss of information useful to the official and to the anthropologist. Even in travels through parts of the Fanti country densely populated and for a long period within the reach of whatever civilising and religious influences may exist in the coast towns, there are habits and survivals of older habits puzzling to the inquirer.

On a journey from Salt Pond—Akimfu is its native Fanti name—in the rainy season of 1894, my first stopping place was a large native town called Mánkessím, only eight miles from the coast. The sides of the broad road leading to it, which may be considered comfortable enough for West African residents who have to travel long distances by hammock, were cut through red clay and sloped to a channel in the centre by the torrents of rain, but were pleasantly bordered by a profusion of wild flowers, by some species of laburnum, and by a common flower which may be called an African marigold (*Fufún*, F.). Plantations were too rarely met of cassava neglected and overgrown with weeds, or of corn, then ready for the harvest home, through which flew the bright-coloured Cardinal-birds and the hollow-noted Afrua or Clock-bird¹ (*Corythaix Persa*, L.). It was a Wednesday, and when the market-place was reached, it was found to be covered with kenki-leaves, the débris of the day's market, for that day and Saturday are market-days. The kenki called *Dōkun* is composed of the grain of the Indian corn, washed and ground in ancient style between two stones, boiled, strained, and then hardened into round balls varying from one to three pounds, covered with the corn leaves.

The town of Mánkessím was large, of the usual regular African pattern, with four roads parting from the centre to the points of the compass. Many stages of evolution in house building were visible, from the little bamboo and plantain hut to the red clay or *swish* huts with a lattice-like reed mat covering the windows on the outside, and to the white-washed swish houses with shutters or even jalousies. Of course there was a Wesleyan school, but far more interesting was a Haūsa cantonment where there was the workshop of a blacksmith (*otónfu*, F., *makērí*, H.), full of bolts, hinges, and cutlasses made from hoop iron, and where might be seen a *wurin-salla* (H.) or Mohammedan place of worship shaded in front by the Ahonton-tree, and behind by the well-known Haūsa-named Baggarúa, a species of sand-box. The *wurin-salla* was merely an enclosure like a wattled cote, with a prayer-mat or *buzu* (H.) in the Mihrab or corner pointing towards the east; and from the little

¹ This bird is known to Germans as Hollenkurako.

gate slung by lianes one could hear proclaimed by the Mallam the same call to prayer that sounds from the mouth of the imaum from a Turkish mosque.

There was a square in the town surrounded by enormously tall cotton-trees, whose lofty tops no doubt occasioned the name *ñküröpon dase*, F., or eagle's seat, whilst the ground was called *ntsirn' dase*, or resting place of skulls. This name then was almost the only mark to indicate that this town was the former capital of the Fanti-speaking tribes or indeed divided that honour with Abrakrampa. The heads of all criminals after decapitation were here exposed, and the bodies cast to the vultures. As I walked over the square, attracted by its name of evil omen, I came upon a couple of skulls not yet completely hidden by the accumulations of the years. What were the spirits that tenanted these bone prisons, it is idle to ask. The African execution destroys or rather destroyed the name of the victim as effectually as it quenched his life. When the decision of the Court of Elders had been given by the voice of the chief, if the sentence were one of death, the wretched culprit was immediately taken from the king's palace, brought to the place of execution, forced to kneel down, and thus beheaded. The body was cast away as a polluted thing to the vultures, the head left exposed in a public place such as the *ntsirn' dase*, on the ground or on stakes, as a warning to offenders of chiefs, and the name of the dead, now become a superstitious cause of ill-fortune to those that pronounced it, passed for ever into the eternal silence.

Nearly a year later, in the rainy season of 1895, it was my duty to ascend the river Pra, or Būsūm Pra, *i.e.*, Fetish or Spirit Pra, for about twenty miles to a lonely village, placed sheer on the bank with a waving background of plantain groves and palm trees close behind. There an inquiry had to be opened into a thrilling story of three murders and a suicide. It appeared that a farmer named Kwabina Damua had two wives and one daughter, and, being of a violent disposition, treated his household badly. His mother, desirous to avenge the injuries of her daughters-in-law and to punish her son for his domestic tyranny, pronounced over Kwabina the curse of Kätēwir, a curse whose effects are partly a species of boycotting, and partly the results of a belief in a personal Nemesis, who brings the unhappy man, over whom the curse is pronounced, into a state of frenzy. The use of this oath is punishable under British law on the Gold Coast by fine or imprisonment. The immediate consequences of the taking of the oath by the mother against her son were that he, after a declaration that he had to obey Katēwir, hacked his two wives and daughter to pieces and blew his own brains

out. Such a yoke has custom fortified by antiquity and by the terrors of ignorance imposed on this rude people, that life is sacrificed and names are unmentioned in deference to usages of which the savage even is sceptic but which he yet fears to break.

Extent of Fanti-land.—The two districts alluded to, Salt Pond reaching to Winneba, along the sea-coast eastward, and Chama, on the Pra, reaching to Princes River on the west, may be considered the marine frontiers of the Fanti people. Indeed, some are of opinion, including many natives, that Fanti-land properly so-called, ought to extend on the sea-coast only, from Cape Coast Castle to Winnebah. Inland, Fanti-land spreads out like a fan, reaching to the headwaters of the Pra among the Kibbi hills on the east, and having Ashanti on the north, reaching to Sehwi on the west, where a language akin to Fanti is spoken. Fanti-land does not, therefore, comprise all the British possessions of the Gold Coast, for our western boundary is a line conterminous with French possessions running north to 9° and 10° N., and nearly 5° W. of Greenwich, and our eastern boundary is with German Togoland, the River Volta, where it issues from a neutral zone nearly in the meridian of Greenwich and 8° N.; and there is an undefined hinterland. But the language Fanti is that chiefly spoken, most generally understood, and may be considered the principal descendant with Ashanti of a language perhaps *Twi*, which is usually regarded as the parent of Ashanti, Fanti, Akim, Akuapim, and modern *Twi*.

The traditions of early migrations among the Fantis are so entangled that it is difficult to evolve a continuous narrative out of them. Former writers, such as Cruikshank and Bowdich, in whose days these traditions were piously guarded by the chiefs as part of their inheritance, found them so incredible that they paid little attention to them, beyond deducing from them that the Fantis and Ashantis were originally one race, driven from the interior of Equatorial Africa towards the sea-board by the pressure of conquering enemies. There are many words in Fanti to indicate plants and animals which do not now exist in the country, or which, like the horse and the cow, may never have been known to exist there, but which abound in the Grunshi and Moshi countries west of the Kong mountains. These regions have been always the special purloins and preserves, and are so, even still, of the Mohammedan slave raiders from the countries on the Niger, and it is probable that long before the introduction of Mohammedanism, the manlier ancestors of the Fulas and Haūsas drove the less hardy Fantis and Ashantis into the primitive forest from the open plains and slopes of the hills.

Origin of Name and Race.—The word Fanti, which is merely an English pronunciation for Mfantsi, is supposed to be derived from *fan*, the name of a vegetable like wild cabbage, and *ti*, *di*, or *dzi*, to eat, the explanation being that the Fantis, in their first keen necessities on entering the northern limits of the primitive forest, were obliged to subsist on some such plant. A similar origin is sought for the name Ashanti, from Asan, an unknown plant, and *ti*. It seems as likely that the word might be *o-sa*, war, *nsā*, strong drink, or *o-san*, a barn, for they would all indicate the peculiarities of the negro and his passionate references, in which he cannot be said to be alone among mankind, to the delights of food and drink. However true this be, there is no doubt that the Fanti belongs to the Great Bantu stock, both in race and language, whose members reach from Senegal to Tanganyika and from that sheet of water to the land of the Hottentots. Interspersed among these races may be found peoples like Jollofs, Bambarra, Fulāni, and Haūsa, who can hardly be considered the same, and for whose race and language the term Hamitic seems more appropriate. The Haūsawa or Haūsas form the irregular troops in Fanti-land, and have gradually created settlements there, characterised by industry, order and respect for authority.

Division into tribes.—Traditional legends among the Fantis state that very early some wise seer divided their nation for government into seven tribes, but the names of these tribes and the purposes for which they were used indicate a system of totemism, combined with a practice of exogamy, or marrying out, which it is considered amongst the natives of the greatest benefit for the improvement of the species to comply with, even at the present day. The names used are mainly old words, nearly obsolete, some indeed, fallen completely out of use, though the meaning is known. They are:—

1. *Kwōnna* = buffalo.
2. *Etchwī* = leopard, the common name is *o-sibō*. *Gyāhin* = panther.
3. *Esō* = bush-cat, or fox.
4. *Nitchwa* = dog, but this is never used to signify dog, except in a part of the country where the people are said to be older than the Fantis, that is, in Ahanta.
5. *Nnūna* = said to mean parrot, and to indicate patience, the common word for parrot being *e-wirir*. *Anuma* = bird.
6. *Ebradzi* = the old word for lion, the modern one being *Awindādzi*.¹ *Abradzi* or *Ebradzi* means also plantain.
7. *Abrutu* = corn stalk, or *O-bertu* = puff-adder-hole.

¹ Another word for lion, rarely used, is *Sarmysāa*, meaning the eunuch of the desert.

If the last two symbolise by the meaning, a species of progress from hunting to agriculture, especially in those branches to which the negro is most devoted, where the labour is trivial and the harvest considerable, they were totems probably taken long after the others, and express perhaps a significant increase of population in early days. A Kwonna man could marry only an Esó girl, and *vice versa*, and so with the others. These tribal divisions are in reality totemic and not a gradual growth of clans or families under the leadership of individuals. The essential characteristic of the clan, that all are supposed to be of the same blood as the chief, is here absent, and the external totemic distinction produces no bond of kinship or hospitality which exists among members of the same family, however widely separated from each other and from the common ancestor. Consanguinity, remote though it be, is still a living factor among tribes who have the universal proverb—though some African water is quite as thick as blood—whilst the totemic symbol, like a church in decay, loses every day some of its influence and mystery.

The Fantis then are negroes, inhabiting a small part of the sea-board of British West Africa, and about 20,000 square miles of the interior, and number approximately one million. The average Fanti is rather of a dull brown colour than of the black seen on the Gambia and the Congo, and, to parody Suetonius's description of Caesar, might be spoken of as a man of dark brown complexion, dark eyes, curly black hair, medium stature, and well formed limbs. The average height is 5 feet 6 inches, such being my experience in measuring recruits. The features are pleasing, both in activity and repose, and, though the nose be flat and the lips protruded, the face, whilst having prognathous jaws, is not unduly platyprosopic. In fact, a well-built Fanti, of good colour, when dressed in decent native attire, has an attractive presence, and may be regarded as equal in appearance to the best members of the Hamitic stock, the Fulas and Haūsas, though devoid of their quiet dignity. The same remark holds good of the women, many of whom in the better families, where there has been no intermixture of slave blood, have such regular features and light colour that they might be called pretty.¹

All alike, men and women, have the odour peculiar to the negro, whilst negroes profess to detect a peculiar smell from a white man. The odour varies from a faint almost indefinable toilette vinegar-like smell in a clean and inactive negro to a powerful emanation like the smell of mixed rancid butter and

¹ The *face marks* of Fanti—to indicate Fanti origin—are three cuts in front of the ear on each side in a line parallel to the ramus of the jaw, and are known in Fanti as *etuā*, i.e., scars, merely.

burning feathers or hair in a negro actively employed and perspiring, and possibly not over-clean. There is no doubt that it does not depend on neglect of the person, as the Fantis are very careful of the body, and the women, in particular, are very clean in their habits, and even attempt to disguise the odour which they are conscious of possessing by the use of various perfumes, one of the commonest used and the most pungent being derived from the excrement of snakes. The odour is probably derived from the insensible perspiration and exudation from the sudoriferous glands and sebaceous follicles of the skin, and is not lost in the mulatto. English dogs, when brought to the Gold Coast, particularly fox-terriers, who do not lose their sense of smell like many other breeds, are keenly sensitive to the odour of the negro, and show the fact by unmistakable signs.

Language.—As was mentioned before, the Fanti tongue is now the principal descendant of a parent that may have also bequeathed Ashanti and 'Twi to posterity, and there is so little difference between these branches of the one stem that Fantis understand Ashantis better than Brandenburgers do the peasants near the Upper Rhine or than labourers from Somerset would the miners of Yorkshire. There has not to my knowledge been a single trace of an attempt at native writing found in the whole Fanti country, though in Awūna, east of the Volta, traces of marks intended to be signs for sounds have, I believe, been discovered. It was necessary therefore to reduce the language to writing, and, unfortunately, the natural difficulty of the language has been vastly increased by the dissensions of the learned men who undertook the task. There is one admirable example of an African language, admirably reduced to writing, Haūsa, as given to the world in grammar and dictionary, by the late Rev. J. F. Schön. This illustrious scholar of Haūsa kept as close as possible to the Lepsius standard alphabet, and produced books which make it now almost as easy to learn Haūsa as Italian or German. The students of Fanti were in different stages of European scholarship, and accordingly produced works, in extraordinary spelling and accentuation, some written phonetically right through like Christaller's Chwi or 'Twi Grammar, others written with some regard to the origin of words, derivatives, compounds, and plurals, but without regard to the fact that certain English letters have sounds too peculiar and too special to England to be of service universally.

As regards sounds, the language is markedly nasal, with singular mixtures of sibilants and harsh palatals. Here is the Lord's Prayer as it is said in Fanti:—

Ewuradzi n'asor.

Hen Egya a iwo sur, Wu-dzin hū ntsiw, w'ahindzi mbra, wonye

w'apedzi wo asāsi du, de mbre woyen' wo sur. Ma hen nde su hen dada edziban. Na fa hen mfum fir hen, de mbre hen su Yedzi fir hon a wofum hen. Mma ngya hen nko ngyigyem; na yi hen wo mbusum'.

Osandè ahindzin' onyi tumn' onyi enyimnyamn' oye Wudzi, Dā, Amen.

Words depend so much on intonation or emphasis for their meaning that simple root-words are frequently used to express the most opposite significations. Thus in the above prayer, *yi* means to take away, to deliver; it is also used to mean *to make, to add to*, with a difference of sound perceptible only by a native ear. A simple radical like *tu* becomes as perplexing as the different colours of butterflies, pronounced or rather intoned in different ways, incapable of being reproduced in orthography, in order to mean such opposite ideas as

- tu* = to pull out.
- tù* = to put or place.
- tû* = to overtake (as on a journey).
- tū* = to transgress or cross a boundary.
- tũ* = to die of small pox.
- tü* = to bake, which reduplicated.
- tütü* = to roast.

excluding from this list such sounds so similar as

- tyw* = to boast.
- tww* = to fling or to shoot.

Without pressing this point further, it will be sufficient to give a list of more difficult native words taken at random.

- hā mobor* = to have mercy.
- nkwā* = life.
- ahyedzi* = commandment, from *hye-dzi* = to put on (appoint) a thing.
- anhwā* = sand.
- Awotchi* = 8.
- ñhwiromba* = a whistling sound, from *hwirɔ* = to sip.
- Ehurcehuv* = carelessly (probably from *ehuv* = a puff of wind.
- awhiwhe* = looking-glass (from *whe* = to look).

The language is further singularly rich in onomatopœic sounds, and in re-duplicated or triplicated simple words to express whether as adverbs, nouns, or verbs, intensification of meaning. Thus the sound *nwanši* expresses the idea, to sneeze, *owā* denotes a cough, *wā* translates to creep, and "he went on creeping" is *owāwāwā*. *Hurdhūrō* is the word for lungs, imitating the act of breathing, coming from a word *hūrō*, to hoot, or to do something quickly. Derivatives from this root all preserve shades of the primitive signification, *hūrōhūrō*, meaning at random or in heaps, *hūrōnhūrōn*, furiously (like a burning fire), and *ehurūhurū*, the act of jumping, whilst a compound *hurutututu*, means the raging of the sea. With the exception of the word for dog's bark, *hūd*, the words expressive

of the notes of animals are employed for human sounds, thus *bóm'*, denotes the roar of a leopard, or of a man, *sá*, the cry of a cat or of a child. There are not to my knowledge any special words to denote the sounds of parrots or monkeys, though both abound in the Fanti forests, and a native would speak only of *adúw-kásà*, monkey-talk, or *e-wiriw-kásà*, parrot-talk.

Reduplications.—If these words are reduplicated, the meaning is intensified as in most primitive languages, similar to the repetitions of adjectives by country people, and to great-great in the word great-great-grandfather. Thus:

<i>Kàsà</i>	= talk.
<i>Kàsà-Kàsà</i>	= excessive talk.
<i>Sakà</i>	= confused.
<i>Sakà-Sakà</i>	= in frightful confusion.
<i>Nánsiw</i>	= to walk.
<i>Nánsiw-Nánsiw</i>	= to keep on walking.
<i>Gyám'</i>	= to moan.
<i>Gyamgyamgyam'</i>	= to keep on moaning.

Nearly every verb is capable of reduplication and triplication.

Grammar.—In the scanty grammar of this language, a philologist will perhaps be ready to recognise the existence only of nouns and verbs, with the addition perhaps of a few adjectives, denoting colour or primitive qualities. The adverbs are simply forms of nouns, and tenses of verbs go to form prepositions which, having not yet quite abandoned their verbal characteristics, undergo changes with nominative cases. Interjections, of course, exist, such as *ebèl*, alas, *āmpà*, indeed, and pronouns, which, except for emphasis, are never used apart from verbs or so-called prepositions. There is no article, but a vowel sound generally similar to the predominant vowel sound of the noun, occasionally, precedes, when the noun stands first or is prominently marked out. In this manner we can explain, *O-sèbò*, leopard; *ò-dàn*, house; *I-guā*, a market, or Cape Coast Castle.

Nouns.—There are no cases for nouns, such as may be understood by special forms, the genitive or possessive being simply composed of two nouns joined by a pronoun, or pronominal adjective, thus my father's garden becomes, *m'egya nu ture*, my father, his garden, just as was written two centuries ago by mistaken pedants, who imagined the ending of the Saxon genitive 's was a contraction for *his*. But there are very elaborate plurals, a few of which it will suffice to mention. There are, generally speaking, three methods of forming the plural in Fanti:

First, by prefixing *n*, or by changing such a prefix as *o*, *i*, *a*, into *n*, which before *b*, *p*, *f*, is usually *m*, as,

<i>O-nyimpa</i> , man	becomes <i>nnyimpa</i>
<i>i-bua</i> , fishing net	" <i>mbua</i> .

<i>ebua</i> ,	tobacco pipe	becomes	<i>mbua</i> .
<i>abua</i> ,	animal	"	<i>mbua</i> .
<i>afi</i> ,	a comb	"	<i>mfi</i> .
<i>ofie</i> ,	home	"	<i>efiefi</i> .
<i>afem</i> ,	a leopard	"	<i>mfem</i> .
<i>cba</i> ,	child,	"	<i>mba</i> .
<i>Pampam</i> ,	crown of the head,	"	<i>mpampam</i> .

Such words are generally radicals.

Secondly. In the case of words, mainly compounds, ending in *nyi* and *fu*, the termination *nyi* becomes *fu* (*fu* undergoing no change), and the prefixes are changed from open or long vowels to close or short ones, as—

<i>obibinyi</i> ,	a blackman,	becomes	<i>ebibifu</i> .
<i>obayifu</i> ,	a wizard,	"	<i>abáyifu</i> .
<i>ofarinyi</i> ,	a fisherman,	"	<i>afarifu</i> .
<i>opimpinsinyi</i> ,	an extortioner,	"	<i>apimpínsifu</i> .
<i>Asántinyi</i> ,	an Ashanti,	"	<i>Asantefu</i> .
<i>Mfantinyi</i> ,	a Fanti-man,	"	<i>Mfantefu</i> .
<i>Opányin</i> ,	a chief,	"	<i>mpányimfu</i> .

Thirdly, names of relations form the plural by adding *num*, or *mu*, generally contracted into *m*, as:—

<i>egya</i> ,	father,	becomes	<i>egyanum</i> , <i>egyām</i> .
<i>e-uā</i> ,	mother,	"	<i>enanum</i> , <i>enām</i> .

Verbs.—The tenses of verbs are very simple, consisting of present, past, and future, as:—

<i>mudo</i> ,	I love, present.
<i>mudó</i> ,	I loved, no change for singular or plural.
<i>mukodo</i> ,	I shall, future.

There is also a progressive present as from *ba*, to come; *mireba*, I am coming. This verb *ba*, forms also its future regularly with *ba*, to come, not with *ko*, to go; thus *míbeba*, not *mikeba*. There is also a preterite formed by prefixing a vowel sound to the verb, thus:—

Ordinary past,	<i>obāa</i> , he came.
Preterite Def.	<i>oāba</i> , he has come.

There are no second perfects or futures, probably because computations of time are burdensome to the negro, in whose country time is "no object."

Adverbs there are such as *sakāsakā*, in heaps, *kōm*, quiet, or quietly; and mention may now be made of prepositions used as adverbs, which were originally nouns. *Du*, on or upon is merely the top; *wo pun' du*, on the table, is merely, by the table, the top. *Dadzi* or *dase*, is another, denoting ground and hence rest in a place, as *nkūrópon dase*, the eagles' rest. Prepositions like *fi* and *fir* (meaning *from*, i.e., motion from), are still in the process of degradation from verbal authority as:—

Na hwe enyansafu fi bukà bá Yerusalem.

"And lo, wise men from the east came to Jerusalem."

Fi here is regarded as governing *bukà*, east, but cannot be used alone.

One ought not to forget to remark that there is no passive voice in Fanti, the third person plural being employed instead, as Jesus was born,

wowù Yesu wo Bethlehem.

"They brought forth Jesus."

The negative is denoted by the use of the nasal sound *n*, as *mombai*, I did not come; *muroko*, the present progressive, I am going, but *minyinko*, I am not going. It is interesting to compare the employment of the negative in interrogative and answer with that of classical languages in such phrases as, *Ana inyinko?* Are you not going? *Nyew*, yes, *i.e.*, *I am not going*, a negative answer. *Muruko*, I am going, is the simple affirmative answer.

Adjectives are fairly plentiful in the language, and are used as adverbs and are most frequently reduplicated to express diminution or excess, as *kitsi, kitsi, kitsi*, very small; *kasi kesikese*, very large. Like nouns they form plurals, generally by the prefix *a*.

Colour sense.—But to express differences in colour the words are very few, and the colour sense of the Fantis seems remarkably deficient:—

Black is, *tüntüm*.

Blue, *bibiri*, the same word as that for black man, for to the negroes their own colour is blue.

Black country, *Ebibiriñ*.

Negro language, *Bibikása*.

Native medicine, *Ebibidür*.

Red, *mimin*, or *kò*, not an usual word.

White, *fufu*.

Green and yellow are seldom distinguished by an untutored negro and the latter is moreover often confounded with red. There is practically no word for yellow, but *mbówima* is used to translate green, being the proper word for "bile," a physiological constituent too common in a malarious country like the Gold Coast.

Name for white man.—It is interesting to observe that the name for white man is unconnected with any idea of colour and is *Bārōnyi*, a compound of the usual ending, *nyi* and *bürd*, a word which does not stand alone, but which enters into many words, all referring to European matters. I have not been able to discover the meaning of the root, for the derivation of *Abürékyir*, England or Europe, from *Abürékyir*, *i.e.*, behind Abura, cannot be defended and is solely due to the similarity of the words. It may be from *bürd* or *bürdbürd*, pure, genuine, or have some

reference to *buró*, an ancient word for corn, said to have been introduced by the Portuguese. *Buróba* is a grain of corn. As instances of the use of this root in compounds, the following may be cited :—

<i>abüróba</i>	= a mulatto.
<i>ebüróban</i>	= a corn-cob.
<i>bürófir</i>	= papaw (i.e., from white man).
<i>bürófu</i>	= English language.
<i>burófu-húma</i>	= English thread.
<i>bürófu-nsa</i>	= invoice price, lit. white man's hand.
<i>bürókyew</i>	= big hat.
<i>abürónúma</i>	= pigeon, white man's bird.
<i>Bürónya</i>	= Christmas.

In fact almost any article brought from Europe may be designated by the use of the prefix, *büró* or *bürófu*.

Derivatives and Compounds.—From the different Fanti words already used, it is abundantly clear that derivatives and compounds are easily formed. Nearly every single root-word may be taken and, like a German radical, brought through a whole gamut of derivatives. Or it may be combined with other words to form more complex meanings. Except in the case of compounds, where two or more words are brought together unchanged and where an ending is then given to the new word, the new complicated words are the result of idiom and are in reality gerundial phrases. Thus :—

o-sófu is priest, *panyín*, chief.
osofu-panyín, high priest, pl. *asofu-mpanyín*.

In such a case both words are distinct and change for the plural in the compound.

2. In another way the two words are blended together to form a new one and have a new ending, *ahen*, canoe; *tua*, the end; *ohentunyi*, helmsman, plural, *ahentufu*.

3. Of a different kind are words like *nsohwè*, temptation; *bondódzi*, leisure work; *ahumgū*, breathing; *ahumgye*, repose; *ahúpe*, love of dress; which are formed of two verbs or of a verb and a noun, and which readily return to a separable state. *Oson' hwè*, he tempted or tested him; *odzi bondo*, he does leisure work; *orugu ahum*, he is breathing; *origye ahum*, he is taking rest; *ope nu há*, he is fond of dress, lit. of his person. This last peculiarity makes Fanti difficult for Europeans to learn, and those who succeed best, learn the language by acquiring a knowledge of idioms and sentences, not of single words.

Use of Concrete for Abstract.—There is still, however, a more serious difficulty, the use of the concrete and the objective for the abstract and subjective. It is probable that in the beginning, when among all primitive peoples, words for hunger, thirst, cheerfulness, pride, anger, and similar conditions arose,

the words had a reference to the particular part of the body affected by the feeling, of which some inward sensation was experienced or outward manifestation given. In Fanti at this day the original words have not yet lost their meanings, which are most readily grasped when we turn a crank on our minds and wrench them back to the days of childhood again.

I entreat you, becomes *mipaw' kyew*, I take off the hat to you. He has ill-will towards me, *oenyam' minasi*, he casts his eye loftily at me.

Ebufuw is anger, and *nu bu efuw*, he is angry, but it is quite literal in Fanti and means "his breast swells."

Oyem' deu dè, means I am glad, but literally it makes sweetness for me.

The Numerals.—The numerals up to 20 are as follows:—

1. <i>Ekur.</i>	8. <i>Awotchwi.</i>
2. <i>Ebien.</i>	9. <i>Akrùn.</i>
3. <i>Ebiāsa.</i>	10. <i>Idù.</i>
4. <i>Anan, banan.</i>	11. <i>Du-biaku.</i>
5. <i>Enūm.</i>	12. <i>Du-ebien</i> , and so on.
6. <i>Eiāsa.</i>	20. <i>Eduonu.</i>
7. <i>Eion.</i>	

A common way of counting after 20 is to say *Eduonu-idu*, 20, 10, and on arriving at 40, to say two score, but natives who come in contact with Europeans, quickly find the advantage of using a less complex method. *Anan*, 4, is the same word as *onan*, the foot, another form of which is *anansa*, and *enum*, 5, is the same as the word for mouth. *Ebiāsa*, 3, might come from *ebien*, 2, and *nsa*, the hand, to make three, and *idu*, 10, is probably little more than *du* "the top."

Names of persons.—Every Fanti ought to have two names, one taken from the day of the week on which he was born and the other from some personal characteristic of his own, mother's, father's, or family. The days of the week with the names for males and females are as follows:—

		MALE.	FEMALE.
Sunday	<i>Kwesida</i> ...	<i>Kwesi</i>	<i>Esi, Akosua.</i>
Monday	<i>Idwuda</i>	<i>Kugo</i>	<i>Adua.</i>
Tuesday	<i>Ibinada</i>	<i>Kobina</i>	<i>Abinaba, Araba.</i>
Wednesday ...	<i>Wukura</i> ...	<i>Kweku</i>	<i>Ekua.</i>
Thursday	<i>Yadu</i>	<i>Kwa</i>	<i>Aba.</i>
Friday	<i>Ifira</i>	<i>Kofi</i> ...	<i>Efua.</i>
Saturday	<i>Miminda</i> ...	<i>Kwamina</i>	<i>Amba.</i>

Names such as *Kwesi Ata*, *Kwesi*, the twin; *Kuyo Auan*, *Kuyo* the fourth son; *Kofi Burónyi*, *Kofi* from a white man;

are very common and exemplify the ordinary method of nomenclature. But the love of parable which is strong in the Fanti leads him to give names, dedicatory as it were to some Fetish, to slaves and waifs and kidnapped children. Among slave children names signifying *the gift of God, His foot walks straight, He brought me luck, from the hand of God*, are the rule, and it would be considered of bad augury for them to change.

Names of Places.—The same love of parable is the cause of many almost inexplicable names to be encountered everywhere. During one journey I came upon two single huts, surrounded by a stout fence, but kept very clean and orderly, in the midst of the forest and four or five hours from the nearest habitation. It was called *Oampe Kūrōm'*, that is, he likes not a country, a multitude, and was the name given by the owner of the houses who had fled from his father and who here with his brother and their wives tried to "subdue the earth and his spirit." Freely translated, *Oampe Kurom* would become "The Hermitage." Local characteristics, derived from trees, vicinity of rivers, or hills, or some accident to the first settlers, account for many names. *Bessadzi*, is under the cola-nut trees, *Bēsē, adzi* or *dadzi*, below or the ground. *Prasu* is simply by the Pra. *Appemdu*, on the *Appem, Do-nkwanta*, well at the cross roads. *Otochemdu* on the *Oto:hem*. Worth mentioning here is the name of a small plant like the Forget-me-not, with pale bluish flowers in capitella, which grows very quickly and spreads, and which is therefore called *Tutu muroko kohwe épù*, i.e., "run, I am going to see the sea."

Poetry and Folk Lore.—It is difficult to arrive, even after lengthened investigation, at any success in trying to discover the materials of poetry and folk-lore which exist among such a people, so suspicious and so vain-glorious. If poetry or verse exists, it is kept secret for Fetish purposes, and therefore not to be disclosed, and the natives are shy to an extraordinary degree in relating one of their own tales before a European, perhaps because every detail is nicely exact, and the language, "painful and free" like the language of some of the Arabian Nights. One of the tales has for subject the faithlessness of the wife of Kwēku Anansi, or Kwēku Spider, who, on his return from hunting one day, found his door barred and heard a noise inside. On forcing open the window *with his gun*,¹ Kwēku discovered his deceitful wife and her paramour. A *palaver* ensues, during which the lover manages to escape, and at the end of which Kwēku is compelled to forego any demand for

¹ The mention of the gun indicates a modern interpolation. Anansi is also a word for spider amongst West Indian negroes.

compensation *because he saw nothing*. It is very popular amongst all carriers and hammockmen, and consists of a long recitative broken by refrains, "Oh, Anansi, oh Anansi, you are being tricked, or your wife's too much for you," or some such piece of sparkling wit.

After many burials a troop of mourners following the coffin will sing a song of quite other pattern. It is lit. translated,

"Bear him along,
He is only a poor body now,
Bear him along.
Give pity to the poor body,
Bear him along."

And when a chief or a great man dies, at the custom, held in his honour, his virtues are at first chanted until the influence of rum suggests pleasanter topics. But in such songs there is neither metre, rhyme, nor even attempt at rhythm; the sole object of the minstrel seems to be to get as many words as possible into a single breath, to the accompaniment of a very monotonous air, and with the clangor of the equally monotonous tom-toms.

Daily Customs of a Fanti town.—It is, however, when the sound of these tom-toms assaults the air, that a sojourn in a native town becomes most interesting. Then, whether the custom be held for the marriage of a chief, or for the Yam Feast, or for some vague anniversary, if one walks through the town, or leans over palisades, or looks into houses, all Fanti life in its happiness and misery, labour and indolence, becomes visible; the chief, sitting on perhaps a gold-mounted hardwood stool, with massive gold ornaments on his fingers, and around his neck, and with a flowing robe of finest native material, which he lowers from his shoulder as a sign of salute and respect as you approach; the headwife attending to the cooking, generally fat and good-humoured-looking; the comely damsel, with hair brought to a point on the crown of her head, rustling in European silk or Manchester cotton, thrown loosely, yet gracefully, around her, perhaps trying to attract admiration; the young girl who has suddenly bloomed from a child into a maiden, and who now walks through the streets, attired in her best raiment, and decked with the costliest ornaments of her family, a retinue of children following; the weaver, active at his narrow loom; the mat-maker peeling the thin slices of the reed-palm, or *odobé*, to dry in the sun; the palm oil workers skimming off the impurities from the red oil, as it melts in a vast cauldron; the lively market, where under a blazing sun, plantains, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, fish, goats, ground-nuts, and all kinds of peppers are exchanged for soaps, scents, hair-washes, pomade, salt-fish, tinned

beef, and all kinds of hardware, women, with children on their backs, crying, at the tops of their voices, as they make their bargains; the *patámpa*, or resting-shed at the entry of the town, for travellers and carriers, who may be seen there, with loads deposited from weary heads and shoulders, palm-kernel-nut bags, or palm oil in solid lumps, or rubber like an elephant's hide, whilst the weary guardians of the burdens rest for a time, and devour greedily the dried fish and kenki, which they find so palatable and supporting. It is a picture of human life, with the substratum common to all existence, and the superficial variations due to climate, country, race, and perhaps individual idiosyncrasies.

Native Marriage.—There are now no initiatory ceremonies performed in the Fanti country in the case of girls, when they become marriageable. But up to November, 1892, ceremonies were practised in the greatest secrecy amongst a people called Krobo, who inhabited a small district, east of Fanti-land, and where crime was committed to such an extent, generally murder of strangers, that an expedition marched into the district and drove all the people from Krobo-hill, the seat of the ceremonies. Three Krobo Fetish priests were afterwards hanged for murder on the hill publicly, and I am inclined to think there is now an end of these practices.

During the first menstruation in Fanti-land the young girl is kept confined to her house for about a week, then given water by her mother or aunt to wash. This done, she partakes of a hearty meal, having been obliged to fast on light "pap" during most of the week. On the following day, she puts on a new *assinamadzi*, i.e., a new string of beads (which every native woman wears day and night) just above the hips around the loins, a new *amointsi*, that is a piece of cotton stuff going from the centre of the *assinamadzi* in front between the thighs to the centre of it behind, where it is tied. A new "cloth," as it is called, is given to her, i.e., a piece of cotton stuff which she winds around her hips and legs like a petticoat, a new "cover-slut," or light silk chemise, and a piece of cloth to wear as a shawl. Her hair is arranged in a most elaborate fashion, brushed up at the sides, and folded back like a fringe, covered with gold ornaments; her neck is loaded with gold chains, and her fingers covered with rings. Escorted by a troop of girls of very tender ages, like nymphs following the huntress-goddess Artemis, she walks through the town, visits the friends of her family, receives their good wishes, perhaps a present as a handsel from them, and is on view for some days following. Unfortunately, her fate is not in her own hands. Born as she is to be regarded the negro's chattel, supporter, or genitrix

of offspring, she suffers the cruel destiny of being sold regardless of affection or antipathy. But even in the negress, oppressed by the callous contempt of generations, there are feelings which demand reciprocation, and which break the bonds of convention to attain to some realisation of sympathy and affection.

The essential parts of the marriage contract are not love passages, but the payment of the purchase-money. When a man has made the possession of such a girl as that just described his heart's desire, he has, like every suitor, to abide by certain conditions and to wait. When the new woman shall have acquired power in Fanti-land, she may probably insist on the addition of a sanitary condition likely to prove inconvenient for many a lover.

1. The first condition is the payment of "Head Rum," varying from 10s. to £2, which is supplied by the "bearer," who goes alone or with the suitor to beg the girl's hand. The rum is intended to be refreshment for the future bride's family whilst the proposal is under consideration.

2. An amount, varying from 3s. to 6s. 9d., has to be paid for knocking at the door of the father of the girl, and probably marks the acceptance of the proposal, and the reception of the future husband into the girl's family.

3. A dowry must be paid to the parents or proper guardians of the girl, to compensate them for the loss of her services. The amount varies from £3 12s. to £7 4s., that is, one or two ounces of gold, to £10 or £12 in the case of an educated girl, and even £20 in the case of a mulatto.

The payment of the dowry is always regarded in native courts and in English courts now as the indispensable part of the native marriage contract, and after it, the girl, with certain reservations, becomes the property of her husband.

4. The bridegroom is obliged to make presents of cloths, Manchester stuffs, and silks to the bride, after which nothing more is to be expected of him.

On the evening of the day on which the contract has thus been made, it is usual to see a procession of servants taking the girl's boxes, clothes, pots and worldly goods from her mother's house to her husband's, and soon after to see the bride herself "led" by her mother, as it is technically termed, or by her most intimate friend, and followed by other female friends, to the husband's house, where stimulants are provided for the party. As this all takes place in the tropics, before the sun has gone below the horizon, a necessity has never been felt for hymeneal torches, and they accordingly form no picturesque part of a very materialistic programme. Centuries must pass before a native poet can sing of romantic lovers and of the

marriage night in the strain of the fervid concluding stanzas of Sir John Suckling's "Ballad on a Wedding."

Divorce.—It is not surprising that under such a system there are numerous divorces, for the bond is easily severed and there is no social ostracism attaching to preferring a lover to a husband. After the woman has shown her repugnance to her husband by flight with another, or refusal to live with him, he has only to announce the fact to her family, stating that he has divorced her. He usually claims back all his head rum and dowry, which, according to native law, he is entitled to receive, not considering the length of time he may have had the use of the woman. The husband has also the power to divorce, without assigning any reason, but in a case of this kind, he has not justice on his side in demanding back the head rum and dowry.

Polygamy.—Polygamy is practised very generally, chiefs having four, five, or six wives, and farmers and small traders two wives, but the same publicity is not given to the custom now, as it has been discountenanced by the Government, much to the injury of the women, as they imagine. Every wife of a polygamist was a free woman, became a member of her husband's family, had a protector during his life, and was provided for after his death. The case is a little different now. The second wife is little better than a slave kept as a concubine, for she has to do most of the drudgery, and to cook her husband's food, or even procure it for him. This is particularly true in the case where a negro has one wife, "married in church," and the other "married in native fashion."

Children of Polygamists.—Wherever children exist, the care of them is left to the mothers exclusively, a habit which may explain the intensity of affection felt generally by Fantis for the mother, whilst the father is hardly known or disregarded. The practice of living in separate houses may also conduce to this end, as well as the fact that all over Equatorial Africa the wives never eat with their husbands, but always with the children. This custom of separate eating is not to be ascribed to Mohammedan influence, for it exists where Mohammedanism has never penetrated, and where heathenism is in full sway.

Succession to property.—Polygamy and the curious anomaly of a man's having two wives, married according to different forms, but both legal, are not without effect on succession to property. The goods of a man married according to European ceremony may be disposed of by will in any way the testator chooses, but in default of a will in such a case, the eldest son receives all. There being no son, the property goes to the daughter or daughters, and, if there are no daughters, to the

wife. But under native Fanti law, and in cases of persons married according to native ceremonies, a more ancient and peculiar code prevails.

Native System.—The rightful heir in native law is the eldest nephew, *i.e.*, the eldest sister's eldest son, who *invariably* succeeds to all the property and position of his uncle, including wives, children, slaves, if there be any, and who thus becomes liable for the debts of the deceased. In default of such an heir, the principal relatives of the deceased select one of their number to succeed, and the man so selected becomes the legal heir, just as if he had been the nephew. Occasionally another method is resorted to in order to appease differences which may arise; a division of all the property is made, generally between two, hardly ever between more than three. And it is noteworthy that the man to whom are assigned the personal effects, chattels and movable stock of the deceased, receives the wives also for his share.

Females may succeed to property, but principally when the acquisition of property by them is merely the result of succession to the stool of a chief, and *ipso facto* to the land which is attached to the stool. At the present time a queen reigns in Daboasi, the chief town of an important district on the Lower Pra, has large tracts of mahogany-bearing land under her at least nominal ownership, and exercises power through the mouth of her elders and linguist. On a visit, which I paid her nearly a year ago, in connection with disputes arising from concessions which she had given to timber speculators, I found the queen dressed rather poorly, though she is not at all in an indigent condition, and sitting outside the entrance of a small hovel, at the rear of her compound. The reason of her apparent destitution and abandonment for a time of her proper dwelling was the occurrence of the menses, during which a Fanti woman is regarded as unclean, and obliged to live apart from her husband.

Tenure of Land.—The system of land tenure is a thorny subject, and has been for some time under Government inquiry. In all the Fanti country the source of ownership of land is derived from the possession of the chief's stool, and not even the chief can alienate the land from the stool. Disputes about boundaries, rights of way, hereditary rights of occupation in regard to land have been a kind of absorbing pursuit to the litigious Fanti, and a fertile source of revenue to native lawyers, whose language and treatment of their clients are faithful copies of their prototypes in "*Les Plaideurs*." One fact is deserving of attention. In the course of this litigation, it has been more than once argued on behalf of a defendant prosecuted for trespass or sought to be restrained from cultivation, that there are two

chiefs, one to rule over the people and the other to hold authority over the land. But in consequence of the testimony of kings and native experts, it has been decided in the English Supreme Court that, according to native custom, there can be only one chief, who is at the same time possessor of the stool and holder as trustee for his tribe of the land.

When land becomes built upon, it is regarded as the personal property of the owner of the house on his making a small present to the chief, generally rum or gin. But arable, mining, forest and what may be called waste lands near the settlements of a tribe are all considered as in the chief's hands, and by him portioned out to the several families, who sub-divide plots and make their own boundaries. All are under obligation to contribute something, usually very vaguely defined, either in money, gold dust, kind, or flasks of rum as recognition of chieftaincy, to the chief, who has also the right to call for special contributions in case of a journey, a death, or to defray legal expenses.

Nothing is more commonly visible in the bush, or on the sea-coast now, as in the days of Hanno, the Carthaginian traveller, who first remarked them, than clouds of smoke, the indications of the forest fires that prepare the ground for cultivation. The Fanti farmer, except in very settled districts, where owing to the British protectorate and consequent progress and peace, population begins to increase, is not a "permanent" cultivator. Three or at most five years will cover the period during which land is continuously cultivated, or the soil broken with the hoe. A period usually reckoned at fifteen years is supposed to elapse before the bush, which soon covers the fallow land, is destroyed in fire, and gives place anew to industry.

When the crackling of the bush-fires no longer startle the ear, nor wreaths of smoke meet the eye, and when the native has finished his light turning of the soil with his hoe, and scattered the seed, pruned his plantain groves and trimmed his palm trees, the early rains are at hand and soon burst over the torrid soil. After a few weeks' rain, the dark green of the bush assumes a brighter hue, plantations of corn, and cassada, and ground-nuts spring up as if by magic, the plantains shake their opening bunches in the breeze, and the palm nuts begin to appear. But during this period the husbandman does little but consume the store of the previous season.

Crops.—It is difficult to determine what crops or fruits are indigenous to Fanti-land, for some bear names obviously derived from the Portuguese, and, as mentioned before, the word for *corn* is connected with the root in the word for white man. A short list may be given here, commencing with words peculiarly native.

Oil palm-tree,	= <i>Abéduà.</i>
Yam,	= <i>Odù.</i>
Ground nuts,	= <i>Nkatsi</i> or <i>atwi.</i>
Coco-nut tree,	= <i>Kùbè.</i>
Lime-tree,	= <i>Ankāmà.</i>
Kola-tree,	= <i>Bèsè.</i>
Corn,	= <i>Burobá.</i>
Cassada or cassava,	= <i>Bankyè.</i>
Banana,	= <i>Mpuà.</i>
Plantain,	= <i>Obürédzi</i> or <i>abürádzi.</i>
Pappaw,	= <i>Burófir</i> , or <i>bürósòw.</i>
Pine-apple,	= <i>Aburòbè.</i>
Coco-yam,	= <i>Koko.</i> (Portuguese.)
Mango,	= <i>Mangu.</i> (Port.)
Guava,	= <i>Oguaba.</i> (Port.)
Sweet-sop or Sour-sop, or Custard-Apple,	= <i>Apir.</i>
Tiger-nuts,	= <i>Átadwe.</i>

The native food is neither *recherché*, nor varied for the seasons of the year. The common dish is what is known as *palm oil chop* and *fūfū*, the former being a bowl of palm oil, produced by boiling freshly ground palm nuts, a liquid in which a fowl or fish is cooked and which is highly seasoned with native pepper. The *fūfū*—the name simply meaning *white*—is a mass of boiled yams or plantains pounded into a pasty consistency and generally found very filling. Ground-nut soup is substituted for the palm oil chop, both of which are taken by Europeans, but the former of which when well prepared, is appetizing and delicious. Kenki has been spoken of before, as pounded corn, and corn is also used, washed and mixed with hot water as a drink in the early morning. There are two principal meals in the day, at noon and after sunset, and this habit appears universal over Western Africa.

As a European walks through a Fanti town, his nostrils may be suddenly assailed by a smell of the most penetrating and intolerable nature; it is the smell of a flavouring article, dear to the Fanti, *stink-fish*. By this name is known the shark, cut up in sections, and partially sun-dried, and generally in a condition of revolting putrefaction. Natives have often declared that, as they say, "it tastes too sweet, it passes everything in sweetness," but I cannot speak from experience. In a part of Fanti-land where I lived for seven months, and where stink-fish abounded, and was a great article of commerce, and where also skin diseases and elephantiasis Arabum, or false-leprosy flourished to an appalling extent, I came to the conclusion that the handling and consumption of the putrefying shark contributed vastly to produce the foul and deforming diseases everywhere visible.

As the Fantis are daring and expert fishermen on the sea, they are skilful canoe-builders in the interior, make very good

mats, weave very good native cloths (*kente* F.), and are moderately industrious farmers. In the latter occupation the women do most of the work, particularly in washing and pounding the palm nuts and kernels to render them fit for the market. Pottery of a simple kind is also paid attention to, but the most honourable occupation is that of goldsmith, which is likewise hereditary. One cannot refrain from surprise and admiration at the delicacy of filigree workmanship of which the Fanti is capable with the crudest of instruments. There are few native designs, the principal one being a snake's head and coil, for the zodiac design on rings and chains, now so common, is derived from the Mohammedans.

Beliefs and superstitions.—But whether in the Fantis' occupations or artistic designs or imitations it is difficult to penetrate the veil which hangs over the superstitions and beliefs connected with them. Now that missionaries have invaded the domain of Fetishism, suspicion and vague fear of Government or of ridicule, to which Fantis are very sensitive, take away all success from an inquirer. About the nature of the soul little is believed or thought, and so the Fanti looks calmly and indifferently to a future life, in which he has no fixed belief, but which displays for him no dismal outlook as a place of punishment. Food is often set at the grave of the recently deceased, a pitcher of water, a chair for a chief, and a special Fetish emblem for a Fetish priest, so that functions similar to those of the present life may be performed beyond the tomb. In travelling through the bush, one is certain to remark outside many towns and villages, a chief's tomb, covered with a shed, with dead fowls, fresh eggs and water by its side, and a chair on top of the mound. And in the fields one may notice, at boundary lines, slain fowls, bottles from which gin or rum had been poured into the soil, small wickerwork erections, enclosing a few bananas eggs, or flask of gin, all to propitiate the Fetish of the region.

Human vampire.—That even natives who have been educated are still possessed by a belief in Fetishism, the following story of a human vampire will show. Whilst I was halting at a small town, a native official brought me his child, which he said had been healthy up to a short time before, but from which all health had departed in a single night. The child was indeed suffering from the extremity of marasmus. He further informed me that he discovered through a boy who was learning, as he said, to be a wizard, that a certain woman who had lately left the town, had by magic sucked away all the healthy blood of the young child in order to obtain fresh strength for her journey. So imbued with belief in this explanation of his child's illness was the official that he sent a special message to the

woman to restore his child's blood or that he would bring her before a chief's court for the offence of stealing it. It was impossible to discover anything from the youth who first propagated the story.

Spirits.—As every Fanti has his own Fetish or familiar spirit, so is he considered to some extent in the power of this Fetish. This spirit is of a neutral character, beneficent if appeased, and mischievous if unpropitiated, but on the whole more inclined to be of an evil disposition. The native swears by him in the court of justice, holding up the hand, invoking his name, and simply promising "*Kasa nukwar*"—to tell the truth—at times tasting a little *moco*, or pounded native pepper, and drinking water or sprinkling it on the ground. A very common Fetish among Fantis is the Būsūm Pra, or Fetish Pra, that is the river, as mentioned in the beginning, but names of ancestors are commonly taken as Fetish, of celebrated Fetish-groves, as Denté in Kráitchi on the Volta. The word for Fetish is *búsum*, from *obú*, stone, and *súm*, to serve (or *súm*, dark), which is also the word for Moon, *busúm*, with a change of accent, and a Fetish-priest is *o-búsum-kwā*, i.e., slave or servant of the Fetish. The word is therefore connected with an external object such as a stick, bone, or stone; and at a town sunk in Fetish, called Chama, quite near the fort in which I lived, at the mouth of the Pra, there is a small Fetish temple, circular and conical, built of wood and straw, in which three Fetish-stones, black, smooth, and round, were kept. Before these an invocation was frequently made when fishermen were setting out to sea to secure a prosperous catch. In cases of epidemics, such as small-pox, which up to lately raged through Fanti-land, outside every town, across the road leaving but a small path at the sides, was erected a horizontal pole on two uprights, and the space on the ground between littered with eggs, plantains, yams, dead fowls, as offerings to the Fetish to ward off the disease. On one occasion, during a tremendous thunderstorm, I took refuge in a small hovel with a streamer floating from the top, which was filled inside with a mixture of disembowelled sheep, goats, and poultry. A Fetish priest soon appeared, who informed me this was the house he used for foretelling and giving advice by examination of entrails, and before I left a couple of women with sick children had come to him, and gone away comforted by the hopeful words he spoke.

Magic.—A common and widespread belief exists in the power of witchcraft, and, as in England three centuries ago, this power is considered to reside in old women or deformed men, or children specially indoctrinated by such persons. A peculiar facility for making fire when and where he likes is a distin-

guishing characteristic of a wizard, and intelligent English-speaking Fantis have assured me that their own eyes beheld unmistakable proofs of this magic in action. One night, a year ago, I went with a fire-making sorcerer into a plantain grove to witness an exhibition of this power, but as I refused to go farther away than twenty yards from him, whence everything was plainly visible, the entertainment was a "fizzle," and nothing burned.

Power of taking away strength.—Far more serious, however, is the belief that Fetish priests, witches, and sorcerers, have the power of inflicting bodily harm on their enemies or on others for lucre, by burying objects in the ground to be trodden on or hanging them over the pathway, making at the same time an invocation. Such a case coming from a wild part of the "bush" between Takwa and Dixcove formed the subject of an investigation. To relate it shortly, a certain Kwamina Donko was at enmity with two friends named Kújo Atta and Kwéku Dyén, and to take revenge on them applied to a Fetish priest named Kōfi Pākā, to inflict some injury on the two friends. At the inquiry Kōfi Pākā, the Fetish priest, who apparently did not know that his conduct had brought him within the arm of the Criminal Code on the Gold Coast, made a very free confession of his part of the matter, and seemed desirous to impress the natives with a consciousness of his skill. He, on payment of 28s., a present of rum and fowls, went with Kwamina Donko to a path near the town where Kújo Atta and Kwéku Dyén lived, dug a hole in the pathway and laid therein a large red crab, with cowries tied to it, and sprinkled rum over it. The invocation he made, which he repeated at the inquiry, was "O crab-Fetish, when Kújo Atta and Kwéku Dyén walk over you, may you take life from them," that is to say, power, strength, health, or vitality. As soon as this became known, Kújo Atta and Kwéku Dyén dug up the crab-Fetish, and in their anger nearly took the life out of Kwamina Donko and some of his friends. In their defence, the crab-Fetish was produced in court as quite sufficient provocation for any assault. It is remarkable that no violence was offered to the Fetish priest, and he came as willingly to give evidence to prove the malice of Kwamina Donko as he went to gratify that malice by "making Fetish" against the others.

Love-charms.—Love-charms are still very much employed, and are generally composed of the juice of limes, a woman's bead, native aphrodisiacs, and a woman's special small sponge, which is worn like a pessary. These are all rubbed up together and afterwards smeared over the hands. If the youth with hands so smeared meets the maiden, or *vice versâ*, the effect is supposed to be equally satisfactory.

Purification.—After many customs, particularly on the part of the women, a purification is performed, generally with water alone, or with water and limes. A most astounding instance of this kind I witnessed not far from Chama on the very sea-coast. A young native who had been seriously ill for a lengthened period, and who had even been under my care at irregular intervals, died suddenly, not without a suspicion of poison in my mind. As I walked along the beach the same evening with a negro, a native of Accra, of a totally different country, language, and traditions, we came unexpectedly upon a funeral party about twenty yards from the beach. I could see distinctly that the dead body was taken out of the coffin, had some rum poured into its mouth, was handled by many of the women, and then put back into the coffin. It was quickly let down into a grave—this was some distance away from the town cemetery—and speedily covered up. All the boards on which the coffin was carried and all the rum-bottles were broken; and with a shout all the women and men raced for the sea, threw themselves into it, rolled in the waters, rubbed themselves, and returned naked to a spot where I could observe clean clothes had been left. The others were left in the water or on the sea shore. My native companion gave me to understand such a scene had never passed before his eyes, though he had seen many native funerals.

Observance of Fetish.—One may often meet women, known to be well off, or of good families, poorly clad, half-naked, with black daubs on the face and chest, who will answer the question as to what is the matter by saying, "I am doing my Fetish." This consists of the observance of a fast for a few days in the year, abstinence from sexual intercourse, or indeed from work, frequent invocation of the Fetish or familiar spirit, and a great bath at the end, putting on of clean or new garments and a hearty meal. Fetish in fact enters into every important act of a heathen Fanti's life, though it is often difficult to discover the connection between the one and the other. At Elmina the Fetish is named Entrã, which is a corruption of St. Anthony, the patron saint of the place in the time of the Portuguese. And it is said that when the Dutch captured Elmina in 1637, the natives broke into the church and took away the brass cross, which is still said to be preserved. The truth of that I have not been able to discover. The women also at Elmina in an old district are known as Santa Maria, and when one of these dies, she is surrounded by lighted candles, as at a Roman Catholic funeral, though nearly all, if not all, of these women are heathens.

In addition to all this, there is a belief in a Beneficent

Being, a Creator to whom, however, but little homage is offered by souls imprisoned in symbolism, which has lost its meaning. God is *Nyami*, from *Nya*, to get, to make, or *Nyánkápón*, probably from *Nyánkám*, rain, and *pon*, great, and according to Fanti notions, takes the same interest in their actions that "the happy gods" did in the affairs of men according to Epicurus. As distinct from a malign Fetish, the existence of a personal Devil, who is called *Abóusam*, the evil-worker, is generally credited, but, though conceived as a spirit in human shape, is a vague and ill-defined personage, inactive on earth and usually resident in hell, known as *abóusam-Kurōm'*, the Devil's Country. Innocuous beliefs and interesting superstitions such as these mentioned above are likely to persist in spite of the spread of education, and form, in the fatal climate of West Africa, obstacles to progress not so difficult to surmount as the fever-bringing dews of the forest and plague-bearing mists of the swamps.

Notes on AUSTRALIAN SHIELDS, more particularly the DRUMMUNG.

By R. ETHERIDGE, JUN. (Curator of the Australian Museum, Sydney).

[WITH PLATES VI-VII.]

AN excellent series of figures of the *Drummung* shield will be found in the late Mr. R. B. Smyth's "Aborigines of Victoria,"¹ exhibiting a variety of incised sculpture and ornament. In the following notes I purpose describing three shields of this type, differing from any figured by Mr. Smyth. The acutely roof-shaped shield, known in Western Victoria under this name, is used, like the *Mulga* shield, to ward off blows in close combat, and is, so far as I know, an essentially south country weapon of defence. The front of the *Drummung* is sharply angular, the back sub-angular, and it is quadrangular in section. The centre of both the front and back is convex, becoming either straight top and bottom, or slightly concave along the front, and sometimes along the back also, attenuating towards both ends, and, therefore, not unlike a string bow. The hand-hole is excavated out of the hinder faces by counter-sinking. It is usually, although not always, ornamented only on the two angular halves of the front.

On the Murray River, towards its source, and in other parts of New South Wales, this shield is known as the *Tawarang*.

For the loan of the *Drummung* represented by Fig. 1, I am

¹ "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I, p. 331, f. 126-129.

indebted to Mr. N. Hardy, of the "Sydney Mail." In form and style of ornament it is generally similar to the beautiful types figured by Smyth. The angular front is similarly curved, and the apices of the shield are unsculptured, but unlike any of the illustrations referred to, similar spaces are left on the angular halves of the front, opposite, and of equal length, to the hand-hole, but narrowing to the sharp front edge. The remainder of the front surface on each side is incised in a series of small rhombs within rhombs, and triangles within triangles. One of Smyth's figures¹ has a similar, although larger style of ornamentation, but instead of the unincised space opposite the hand-hole, carries a simple incised bar. The front angular edge is sharp, the hinder edge rounded off.

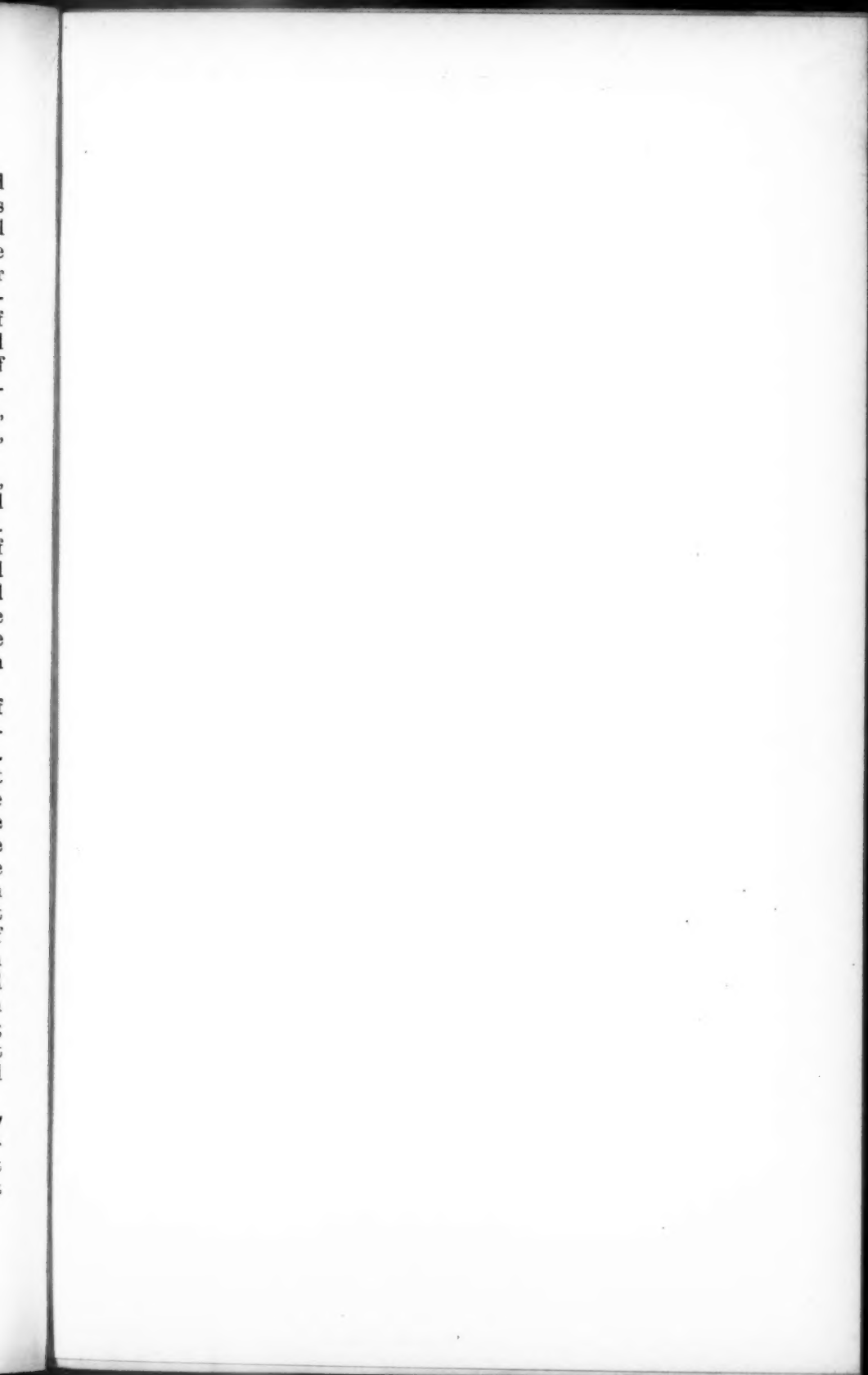
The length of this weapon is 2 feet 7 inches; the breadth, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the thickness through the weapon, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches; and the weight, 1 pound 14 ounces. The precise locality is unknown.

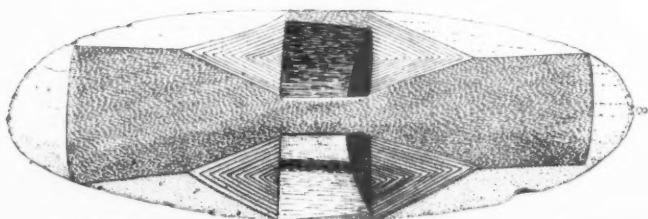
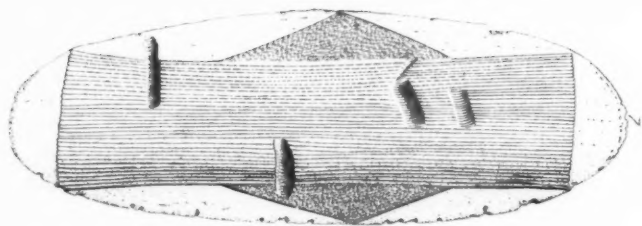
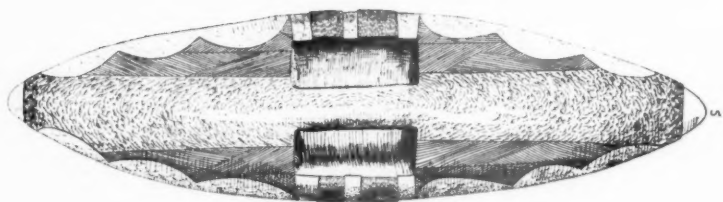
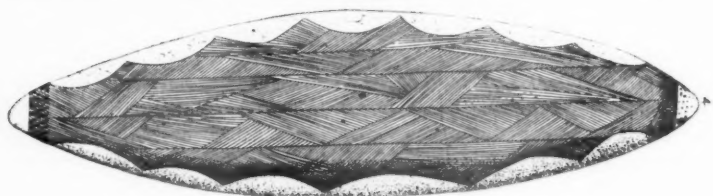
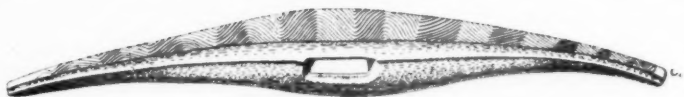
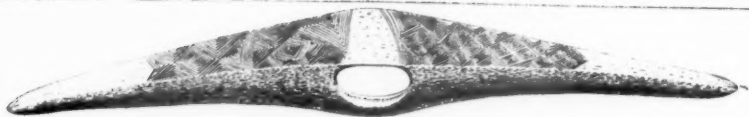
An opportunity is now afforded of showing the extension of the *Drummung*, or rather a modification of it, into East-central New South Wales, through the courtesy of Messrs. Angus and Robertson, publishers, of this city, who have permitted me to make use of the original of Fig. 2, once a portion of the warlike outfit of "King Billy," of Wellington, a well known aborigine in former days.

As I have previously pointed out, the true *Drummung* of Western Victoria is decidedly quadrangular in section, roof-shaped front and back, and with prominent lateral angles. The curvature and position of the hand-hole of the present shield (Fig. 2), accords with the *Drummung* type, but the sides are quite flat, and the section would be in consequence simply a long oval. The front edge is also truncated, but the hinder is still rounded. In the incised sculpture we again see a marked departure from that of the before-mentioned type, in that the incised lines are not confined to the front faces, but extend also on to the back, and in consequence of the want of angularity along the sides of the shield, the ornamentation should be more properly described as lateral. The incised lines form four detached hour-glass shaped figures, line within line, two above, and two below the hand-hole on each face; conjoin the respective halves on the two faces, and eight roughly rhomboidal figures would result. The apices and interspaces are smooth.

Although I have included this shield under the *Drummung* type, the departure it exhibits from the latter in several important particulars, almost induces me to consider it distinct, but the form, apart from the lateral angulation, is so manifestly that

¹ "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I, p. 331, f. 127.





of the weapon in question, that it will be perhaps better to retain it under this name.

The shield is 2 feet 10 inches long; $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches across in the widest part; $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in thickness; and weighs 1 pound 10 ounces.

The third *Drummung* (Fig. 3) is again from the collection of Mr. N. Hardy, and is another peculiar and marked departure from the ordinary type, although exhibiting the correct outline and curvature. In the first place it is heptagonal in section, instead of quadrangular, and secondly, the arched front, instead of being simply roof-shaped, is truncated, producing a narrow face that is slightly concave transversely; thus the front of the shield possesses three faces instead of two. The back is divided on each side longitudinally by a ridge, so producing two faces in the place of one. All the faces are slightly concave transversely. The only incised portions are the two anterior corresponding front faces, which are engraved with a series of zigzag lines, the various turns of the zigzag being of equal length, thus breaking up these faces into a number of squares, when viewed by oblique light, the illusion being augmented by the peculiar under-cutting of the grooves; these have at some previous period been infilled with pipe-clay. The hand-hole is made in the usual way.

The length from apex to apex is 2 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; greatest width, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; thickness, 2 inches; and the weight, 1 pound 9 ounces.

Mr. Hardy informs me that this shield originally came from Victoria. There can be very little doubt that it is either Victorian, or from the southern part of New South Wales.

I now pass on to shields of an entirely different type.

The first (Plate VI, Figs. 4 and 5), for which I am again indebted to Mr. Hardy, seems to be intermediate between the *Mulga* and *Geeam* shields. It is elliptical in shape, obtusely pointed at each end, very gently convex both back and front, the degree of convexity being about equal, and the lateral edges sharp. The margins both back and front have the surface layer of wood removed, leaving semi-oval spaces, forming a continuous scallop. On the front there are six of these on one side, and seven on the other, and on the back six on each side. These spaces, together with the immediate apices on the two aspects are whitened with pipe-clay. The front of the shield is divided into six longitudinal zones by incised lines, so arranged that the middle line of the shield is occupied by one of the dividing lines. These zones are cut up into triangles with their apices alternately to the right and left, and are infilled with diagonal incisions very regularly cut. The entire surface is blackened

apparently by charring, but a band of ruddle has been added at each end, just within the whitened apices.

The back of the shield is differently ornamented. A broad longitudinal space extends from apex to apex, interrupted by the hand-hole, and is unsculptured. The incised lines bounding this space are not parallel, but converge from each end towards the centre. These broad spaces are flanked on each side by narrower zones incised in a similar manner to those of the front.

The hand-hole is very wide and affords ample protection to the hand. The margins have portions of the outer woody layer removed, leaving two squares, and three oblong spaces on each side. Both the former and the general surface of the back are blackened in a similar manner to the front of the shield, whilst the letters are whitened like the scalloped edges of the shield in general.

The length is 2 feet; breadth, 7 inches; thickness, 3 inches; and the weight, 2 pounds 2 ounces.

I am unacquainted with the name of this shield, and it does not appear to correspond with any of the commoner types, although the dual ornamentation especially, and the outline to some extent, seem to ally it to the *Goolmarry* shield of Queensland.

Mr. Hardy informs me that this weapon was obtained at Cooktown, North East Queensland.

The next shield (Fig. 6) is one of the most perfect and beautiful examples that has come under my notice. The front is convex, with the middle longitudinal line as a flat smooth space. The surface is broken up on either side into eight oblong figures, and separated from one another by seven similar cross-bars, defined by closely fluctuating incised lines on three sides. These oblong spaces vary from 3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in longitudinal measurement, and are infilled with herring-bone sculpture, of which the incisions are deep, somewhat undercut, and has been filled level with the general surface with pipe-clay. On the back, the shield towards the apices is flat, gradually rising in the central line of the handle, to a ridge, from which the sides slope off rather concavely to the edges. The handle projects, and has been formed by removing the surrounding wood. The back of the shield is quite plain and unsculptured.

The length is 3 feet 10 inches; width, 5 inches; thickness, 2 inches; and weight, 2 pounds 8 ounces.

The shape of this shield is strictly in accord with the ordinary form of Western Australia termed the *Woonda*,¹ and the method of forming the handle is practically the same. The ordinary *Woonda*, however, of which I have seen several, is fluted from

¹ Smyth, "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I, p. 339, f. 148.

top to bottom, parallel to the lateral margins, with a deflection in the centre, and is destitute of the elaborate carving of the present shield. It might at first sight be taken for a *Mulga*, but the method of forming the handle is that of the *Woonda*, and not of the former.

Mr. Hardy, to whom it belongs, received this shield from Port Darwin, but I have little doubt of its West Australian origin. Angus¹ also gives an illustration of a similarly made and shaped shield, this, however, is painted not incised. It also is from West Australia.

In the "Proceedings of the Linnean Society of N.S. Wales," I lately figured² several varieties of the Queensland *Goolmarry* shield. Thanks to Mr. Hardy's ardour in collecting, I am now able to describe an eighth form of this interesting weapon. (Figs. 7 and 8.)

It is convex both back and front. The latter has the outer woody layer at the apices removed as usual, and in addition form two triangular spaces on each side. The central portion of the front, in the form of a parallelogram, is distinguished by being vertically incised, with a triangular space or wing on each side, devoid of ornament. The parallelogram shows traces of having been coloured with ruddle. On the back, which is about equally convex with the front, there are similar triangular spaces at the sides and apical spaces from which the outer woody layer has been removed. Above and below the hand-hole, counter-sunk in the usual way, are four pyramidal figures, two and two, and base to base, ornamented with incised lines parallel to the longer margins, thus leaving at both ends of the shield a more or less wedge-shaped and unornamented space. The pyramidal figures were at one time coloured red.

The length is 1 foot $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; breadth, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; thickness, 3 inches; and weight, 2 pounds.

The present shield is of the typical *Goolmarry* form, incised both back and front, and is so in a manner I have not seen before. The bare apices are universal in the *Goolmarry*, whilst the distribution of the sculptured and plain surfaces is very varied throughout the type.

The hard usage this weapon has undergone is evinced by its notched edges and the old spear-marks on the front.

The last weapon of defence but one I have to refer to (Figs. 9 and 10) is one of the large light fig-wood shields of Central Queensland, for which I am indebted to Mr. Harry Stockdale, of Sydney. Very little has been published regarding these lop-sided shields, and I am not even acquainted with any of the

¹ "South Australia Illustrated," 1846, t. 471, f. 10 and 11.

² 1895, vol. ix (2), p. 506, t. 33-38.

native names. Smyth figures¹ one from Rockingham Bay, and remarks that it "differs altogether from the shields in use in other parts of the continent."

The present example, like that given in Smyth's figure, forms an irregular oval, but is even more symmetrical than the generality of this type. There is no incised work on either back or front, and the ornamentation is confined to the latter, and consists of a nearly bilaterally symmetrical pattern in red, black and yellow colours. The yellow is used to define the pattern, the black as an edging to it, whilst the red is used to fill in certain angles, besides tinting the boss that forms the central point of the shield, rising above its surface. It is exceedingly difficult to give an intelligible description of the pattern. It will be observed that at each extremity of the shield is a W-like figure, having two of the angles in each case filled with red colour, and projecting from these, what, to use cartographer's symbol phrase, may be termed "swallows." The general face of the shield is then occupied by a figure that, when viewed transversely, may be likened in shape to a stunted sand hour-glass, with the top and bottom surmounted by a cap-piece, whilst the interiors of the two ends of the hour-glass contain each a T-piece, the two together giving a sectional figure not unlike that of a locomotive rail. The interiors of the cap-pieces are filled with red colour. The re-entering angles of the hour-glass are occupied, top and bottom, by two "swallows," one single, the other double.

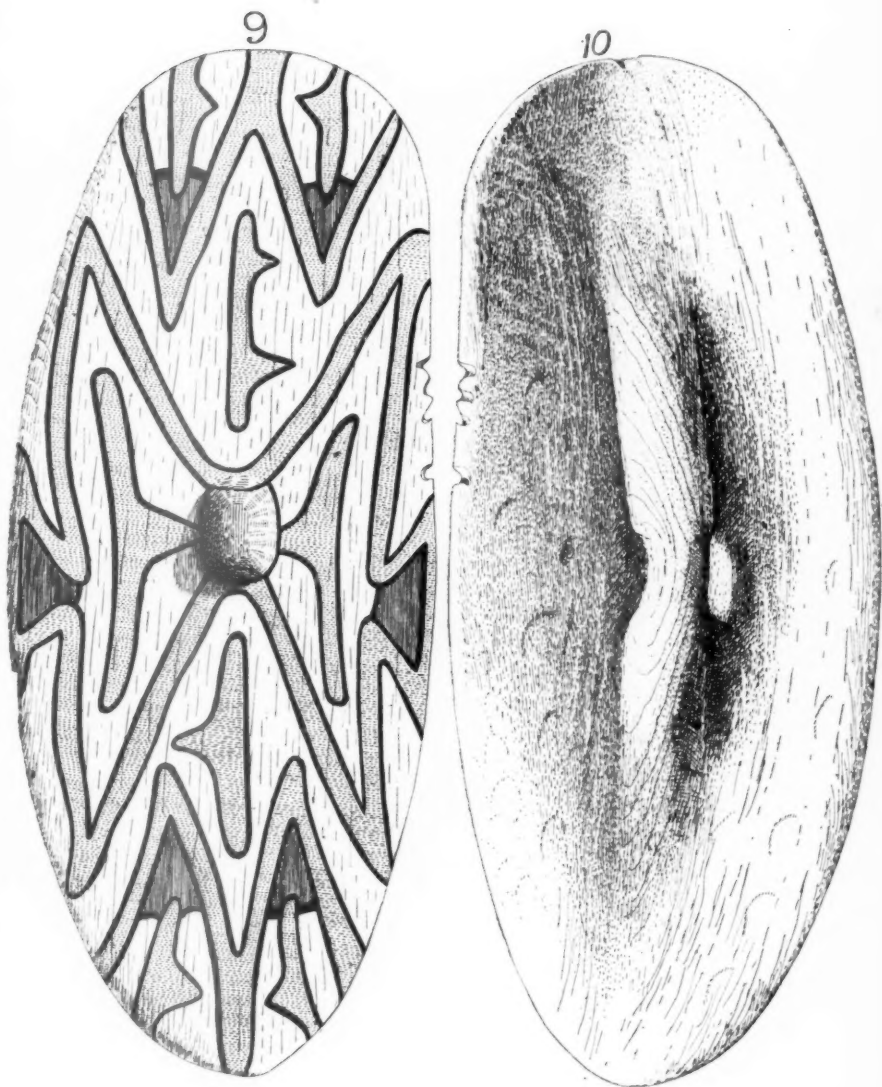
The back of the shield is slightly concave with a projecting handle, formed by cutting away the wood

The length is 3 feet 2 inches; the breadth, 1 foot 4 inches, the thickness, exclusive of the boss and handle, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches; and the weight 5 pounds 3 ounces. These peculiar shields are comparatively light, and, according to Smyth, are made of the soft wood from the buttress roots of a *ficus*. The pattern painted on them is very varied, that figured by Smyth² being of an entirely different character to the present shield. It consists of a series of ovals within one another, concentric with the margins of the weapon, with a re-entering angle top and bottom, and surrounding a peculiar and nearly bilaterally symmetrical figure in the centre. The only other figures of this type, with which I am acquainted, are given by Lumholtz.³ His plates show how these shields are used in the *mêlée*, and he also corroborates Smyth's statement of the nature of the wood. Lumholtz makes the following remarks:—"When the native holds this shield in his left hand before him, the greater

¹ "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I, p. 334.

² "Aborigines of Victoria," 1878, I.

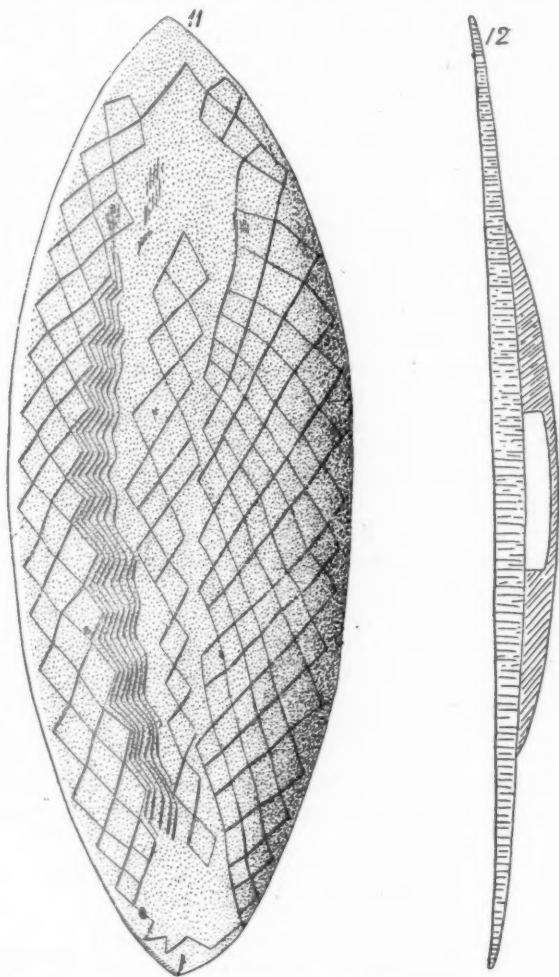
³ "Among Cannibals," 1890, pp. 130, 123, pl. opp. p. 122, pl. opp. p. 124.



QUEENSLAND SHIELD.

Australian Shields, more particularly the Drumung. 159

part of his body is protected. The front is painted in a grotesque and effective manner with red, white and yellow earth colours, and is divided into fields, which, wonderfully enough, differ in each man's shield, and thus constitute his coat of arms." The patterns depicted on the shields figured



by Lumholtz are very curious, but different from the present example. His were obtained on the Herbert River, Central Queensland. The present example is evidently from the central area of the latter colony.

The last shield (Figs. 11 and 12) is peculiar, and, so far as

my knowledge enables me to judge, of a rare type. It is a small oval weapon made of *Banksia* wood, obtusely pointed at the apices. On the outer face it is convex transversely, and slightly concave longitudinally, *i.e.*, the apices are on a slightly different plane to the centre of the shield. The wood is also thicker at one end than the other. The handle is not made by countersinking, but by cutting away the wood over the whole inner surface, leaving the handle in relief, in a similar manner to the subject of Fig. 10. The outer face is very roughly incised, and the ornament is not similar on both sides. The central longitudinal line is occupied by a double series of rhomboidal figures, tailing off into a single row below. On the right, and separated from the central series of figures by a narrow intervening clear space are many rows of similar rhomboidal figures, the rows lessening in number top and bottom. On the extreme left are three other rows, connected with the more numerous on the right by zig-zag simple lines. Between the left-hand group and those in the central line of the shield are seven continuous herring-bone incisions of equal length, as a whole figure. At the apices, but within the sculptured surface, are clear, unincised, irregular spaces. No colour appears to have been used in the ornamentation of this weapon. As might be anticipated from the nature of the wood, it is heavy for its size.

The length is 1 foot 8 inches; the breadth, 8 inches; thickness, exclusive of the handle, is $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; and the weight is 2 pounds 2 ounces.

I am not acquainted with the native name of this weapon, nor with any previous reference to it. The specimen was obtained from the blacks at Clermont Station, Queensland, by Mr. Henry King, and is now in the possession of Mr. N. Hardy, to whom I am under obligations for the loan of this and other weapons.

As on previous occasions I am indebted to Mr. Charles Hedley, F.L.S., for the illustrations accompanying these remarks.

Description of the Figures.

- Fig. 1.—*Drunmung*.—Side view; probably from Victoria. Angular along the sides and quadrangular in section.
 Fig. 2.—*Drunmung*.—Side view; Wellington, N.S. Wales. Flat along the sides, and oval in section.
 Fig. 3.—*Drunmung*.—Side view; probably from Victoria. In this view, one of the front incised faces, and one of the side and back faces, are seen.
 Fig. 4.—Shield intermediate between the *Mulga* and *Geeam*. Front view.
 Fig. 5.—Back view of Fig. 4.

- 1-3. MAO NAGA MEN.
4. NAGA WOMEN.



Fig. 6.—*Woonda*.—Front view; probably from West Australia.

Fig. 7.—*Goolmarry*.—Front view, showing contusions from blows.

Fig. 8.—Back view of Fig. 7.

Fig. 9.—Large oval shield from Central Queensland. Front view, painted, and with a central boss.

Fig. 10.—Back view of Fig. 9.

Fig. 11.—Small oval shield with pointed apices made of *Banksia* wood. Front view.

Fig. 12.—Side view of Fig. 11, exhibiting the method of leaving the handle in relief.

NÁGÁ and OTHER FRONTIER TRIBES of NORTH-EAST INDIA.

By GERTRUDE M. GODDEN.

[WITH PLATE VIII.]

I.

NÁGÁ TRIBES.

(i.)

Introductory.

(ii.)

Social Structure.

Kin Groups. Village Government. Central Authority. Social Rules and Penalties. Marriage. Birth Customs. Dekha Chang or Morang. Individual Property in Land and Inheritance. Slavery. Oaths. Tattoo.

(iii.)

Religion.

Chief Deity. Various Gods or Spirits. Intercourse with Gods and Spirits. Sacrifice. Ceremonial Seclusion and Taboo. Disease. Omens. Festivals. Funeral Rites. After-world Beliefs.

(i.)

Introductory.

THE wild hill tracts which till recent years formed the North-Eastern frontier of the Indian Empire are still to some extent an almost unknown land. A dividing barrier between the plains of Assam on the one hand, and of Upper Burma on the other, these Nágá Hills were long known as the abode of fierce and intractable tribes, living in a state of incessant intertribal warfare, and asserting their presence on our border by savage

raids; but punitive expeditions and official intercourse left us with a very incomplete knowledge of the people. Fearless with the courage of savage ignorance, they repeatedly resisted and killed officers engaged in frontier work, and entrenched in a remote hill country they eluded detailed scientific observation. A further difficulty lay in the multiplicity of languages spoken among them. Later years have seen the Nágá tribes reduced to peace and order, but as far as I am aware no adequate record, either of the hostile tribes, or of the more peaceful members of the race, has as yet been attempted. The following pages therefore make no claim to completeness, but are rather notes of the people, chiefly gathered from some Government records, and from a few scattered scientific papers.

Before proceeding to deal in detail with Nágá life we may briefly notice some past conditions of the tribes, their position in regard to external influences, their racial affinities, and their language.

We find a record of the hostility of the tribes as far back as 1832, when English officers at the head of some native levies fought their way through the Angámi and Kutcha Nágás. At this time and for many subsequent years the Nágás made themselves known to us as barbarous savages; the savage virtues of blood-feud and relentless raiding, and savage ignorance of many of the first principles of the higher civilisation were everywhere apparent. For the ten years following 1838, they raided our border, engaged in mutual extermination, and defied our efforts to manage them, alike by official tours or punitive expeditions. For the next ten years the Government withdrew from all interference with the tribes, but this experiment ended in raids which enforced definite action. A strong central station was established; conciliatory intercourse with the Nágás was enjoined; and our knowledge of the tribes was greatly extended. Further movements followed towards civilising the country, carried on with much tribal opposition, and at the cost of one valuable life, that of Captain Butler, Deputy Commissioner of the Hills; reference to Captain Butler's ethnological and other researches will be found in a previous volume of this Journal.¹ This was a time of vigorous exhibition of the Nágá character; in the two years, from 1874 to 1876, the raids of one tribe alone, that of the Angámi Nágás, resulted in the death of over 300 persons. Further measures of control were now decided upon, and happily for the tribes they fell at this critical period under the management of Mr. G. H. Damant, an officer singularly qualified

¹ R. W. Woodthorpe. "Journal Anthropological Institute," vol. xi, 1882, p. 57 *seq*; Col. Woodthorpe refers to a paper by Captain Butler, on the "Angámi Nágás," published in the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," part I, 1875.

to promote their civilisation. Mr. Damant brought to his post not only administrative vigour, but also a scientific study of the people; and the success of his brief eighteen months of office may doubtless be attributed to this union of the temper of the student with the indefatigable energy of the active magistrate. The task before him was to begin the welding of "a mass of disconnected and barbarous tribes into a law-abiding community,"¹ and though we may not concern ourselves here with his political success, his letters and reports show us something of Nágá savagery as it existed twenty years ago. References to his anthropological and philological work will be found in the following pages. He wrote that the people did not seem to have the slightest idea of the value of life, and after he had effected the difficult task of removing his headquarters to the advanced post of Kohima, he anticipated having to live in a stockade for two years, and found it hardly safe to go out without a guard. At the reduction of a rebellious village, against which an expedition was necessary, the Nágás came round the camp in full war dress, challenging the party to come and fight them. Another village informed Mr. Damant that they intended to sew up his mouth and eyes if he went there. Yet within a few months of the advance to Kohima at least a temporary improvement was apparent, an improvement wisely received by Mr. Damant, with caution: "I fear," he writes, "the love of fighting is too deeply implanted in a Nágá's nature to be exterminated so quickly."² After twelve months of administration, considerable advances towards civilisation could be reported. In endeavouring to understand the Nágá tribes we may recall that Mr. Damant never doubted their capacity for ultimate peace and order. This hope is constantly repeated by him, and his Administration Report concludes by sketching a future advance, "step by step until we have succeeded in eradicating the last vestiges of the murder and bloodshed which now prevails among all these tribes."³ The work which Mr. Damant foresaw so clearly, and the success which he anticipated, were to be achieved by other hands. A few months after writing the above he was shot down at the entrance of a village near Kohima. In his untimely death the frontier tribes lost a wise and skilful administrator, and a scientific career full of promise was cut short. The defence of Kohima against an overwhelming force of Nágás followed, and the Nágá war of 1878-9, a war not concluded until 1880.

¹ See the resolution by Sir Stuart Bayley on Mr. Damant's "Report of the Administration of the Nágá Hills for the Year 1878-9."

² "Official Report." G. H. Damant. 1879.

³ "Administration Report of the Nágá Hills." 1878-9. G. H. Damant.

From that date the tribes appear to have abandoned the idea of expelling English rule, and in 1892 it was possible to record the fulfilment of hopes expressed by Mr. Damant twenty years earlier. Since the close of 1881, Mr. Aitcheson writes, "the history of the district shows the progressive establishment of peace and good order, and the quiet submission of the Nágás to our rule."¹

We need not dwell further on the warlike qualities of the Nágá race; but it should be noted that even in the earlier years the tribes were not exclusively hostile. For nearly ten years, from 1876 to 1884, the Sibsagar Nágá tribes gave no direct trouble, trade largely developed, and missionary work appeared to have been efficacious. The Rengma Nágás have had almost uniformly peaceful dealings with the Government.

This long political intercourse with the tribes has been supplemented to some extent by missionary labour. Thus in 1840 a missionary was residing among the Sibsagar Nágás, and a successful mission school existed, to which many of the chiefs sent their sons for instruction. By 1878, the New Testament had been translated into Manipúri; and in the late census report for 1891 we find mention of two Nágá mission stations. Further opportunities of receiving external influence were afforded to the Nágás by their trading activity. This activity brought them as far as Calcutta; and many of the Southern and Northern Nágás traded constantly with the plains, and worked in the winter months in the tea gardens at the foot of the hills. The intercourse between the Nágá tribes bordering on Assam and the Assamese has been constant, and a certain amount of Hindu, Buddhist, and Mussulman influence may thus have penetrated into the hills.

The Nágás have thus been long exposed to foreign influence. They have been in contact with Christianity, Hinduism, and to some extent with Buddhism; the more enterprising of the tribesmen have traded in Assam, and even in Bengal; and the border people have had the opportunity of passing on into the interior the external influences around them. But although it is necessary to admit these facts, little seems to have resulted from them. The tribes exhibit primitive beliefs, and live in communities regulated by primitive social rules, which have hitherto provoked no comment of foreign origin from their observers.² How far indications occur of Hindu influence will be considered when we pass to the nature of these beliefs, and to the structure of the village groups which hold them.

¹ C. Aitcheson, "Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads." 1892, i, p. 283.

² Possibly there may be an exception in three small tribes inhabiting the Manipur valley.

Classified by language, the Nágás are members of that great race conveniently called Tibeto Burman, which extends from the source of the Indus to Siam. Of the early movements of the Tibeto Burman and Burmese races little appears to be known. Views recently put forward¹ assume a general movement from Central Asia southwards towards the Bay of Bengal of the Môn and Karén races, the Burmese, and the Sháns. The Nágás may perhaps be affiliated to the Northern hill tribes of Burma, known as the Kákhyin; or to the tribes who inhabit the hills to the west of Burma known to the Burmese under the name of Khyin or wild man, and their neighbours, the Kukis.² The identity of the Nágá and neighbouring Kuki tribes is an open question, though we may note that Mr. Damant found "as a rule, a marked distinction in dress and manners between the Kuki and Nágá, even in cases where their dialects closely resemble each other"; he adds "there is only one tribe with which I am acquainted, the Cheroo, dwellers in the hills of Manipúr, which in any way unite the characteristic features of the two . . ."³

No final classification of the languages spoken by the hill tribes of the North-Eastern frontier has yet been attempted. Mr. Damant wrote a careful account⁴ of many of the tribes and tongues of this frontier, including those of the Nágás and Kukis, but of some of the tribes little or nothing was then known, and his work claimed only to be provisional; and the recent Assam Census report, while admitting a great advance in our knowledge of the local Tibeto-Burman languages, observes that the affinities and differences between them have hitherto been scarcely touched.

The wonderful multiplicity of their languages is a salient characteristic of the Nágá race. Mr. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the District, writes, "all the tribes in this district . . . speak languages which are at the present day . . . so different that a member of one tribe speaking his own

¹ "Report on the Census of India." 1891. J. Baines, p. 127 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³ G. H. Damant, "Journal Royal Asiatic Society," n.s., vol. xii, p. 228. Mr. Baines ("Indian Census, 1891, Report," p. 150) speaks of the Mikirs as included in the Nágá group, but this classification is not given as final by Mr. Gait in the "Assam Report," 1891. Passages in Mr. Baines' Report (pp. 129 and 150) on the relation of the Nágá to the Kákhyin people appear to contradict each other. It may be noticed that Mr. Damant states in a paper in the "Calcutta Review," 1875, that, "The Nágás are the oldest settlers, if not the aborigines, of North Cachar; we find that every other tribe has traditions of having lived in some other country."

⁴ "Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Pehamaputra and Ningthi Rivers." G. H. Damant. "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," n.s., vol. xii, p. 228 *seq.*

language is quite unintelligible to a member of the next tribe."¹ We find the same conditions described by Mr. Damant in the provisional paper already referred to. He placed the number of mutually unintelligible Nágá languages as not less and probably more than thirty. "In some instances," he adds, "perhaps a few may be reduced to the rank of dialects, but in the majority of cases they are essentially distinct languages . . ."² This linguistic variation he found at its height among the Eastern Nágás. Amongst these, he wrote, "the greatest confusion exists; there is such a multiplicity of tribes, each speaking a different dialect, and they are so small in numbers, sometimes consisting of only one village, that without visiting each village personally, it is almost impossible to define the limits of each tribe with any approach to accuracy, or even to say precisely how many tribes there are." The source of this immense number of dialects he found in the isolation of communities, in constant warfare: "Every tribe, almost every village, is at war with its neighbour, and no Nágá of these parts dare leave the territory of his tribe without the probability, that his life will be the penalty, . . .". In a further description of these Eastern Nágás he speaks of the many different tribes "all, or nearly all, speaking languages unintelligible the one to the other. Within twenty miles of country five or six different dialects are often to be found."³

It is noticeable that in several cases dissimilarity of language and dialect was not found to involve equal dissimilarity in customs and manners. Thus the *Mao*, *Maram*, and *Miyangkhang* Nágá, though very similar in dress and customs, spoke dialects which differed considerably; the *Lhota* language differed very materially from that of its neighbours, but in dress and customs they resembled each other closely; the *Angámi* did not differ materially from other members of the Nágá family in manners and customs, but the linguistic divergence was so great "that it is doubtful," Mr. Damant wrote, "whether they should not be classed as a distinct family of themselves."⁴

Mr. Davis, the officer in charge of the Hill tracts, has reduced the language of the main Nágá tribes on the western slope of the Indo-Burman watershed to more or less grammatical form. He was said, in 1891, to be the best authority on the subject.⁴ We may refer to his section on the Nágá languages in the "Assam Census Report, 1891," p. 163 *seq.*

We have as yet no knowledge of the number of Nágá tribes which exist in the border hills. Mr. Damant gave a provisional

¹ "Assam Census Report," 1891, p. 163.

² G. H. Damant, "Journal Royal Asiatic Society," n.s., vol. xii, p. 228 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "General Report Census, India, 1891." J. A. Baines.

enumeration of eighteen tribes. In the latest authority, the "Assam Census Report for 1891," nine tribes are given, viz.: the Angámi, Ao, Kabui, Kacha, Kezhama, Lhota, Naked, Rengma, and Sema. Other tribes are named by earlier writers, but amongst all the various accounts of the hill people, extending over a period of nearly fifty years, none offers a satisfactory tribal record. Rather than attempt out of this confusion of many writers and imperfect knowledge, any individual treatment of the Nágá tribes, the present sketch will aim at presenting as fully as possible the customs, beliefs, and usages of the Nágá race, care being taken to preserve all well established tribal references. The only tribe which will be described separately is that of the Angámi, of which a fairly full record is available.

NOTE.—The divisions of the Nágá, named Miyangkhang and Maram, by Mr. Damant, have been used as synonymous with the Meeyangkhang, Murram, and Muram of Dr. Brown and Major McCulloch; and the Mao of the former for the Mow of the latter. Also the Maring of Mr. Damant has been taken as equivalent to the Murring of Dr. Brown. References given to Brown and McCulloch must therefore be read in the light of this nomenclature. References to these two writers refer to the "Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes," by Major McCulloch and the "Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipúr and Hill Territory under its Rule," by Dr. Brown.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Kin-groups.—The unit of society in a large tribe of the Nágá race,¹ has been described as not the village but the *khel*, in other words society was founded on the tie of kinship rather than of common fealty, or common land. Men felt themselves bound to obey the laws of the kin groups; no man might marry within his own *khel*; curious funeral rites were performed over the dead by members of some other *khel*; and *khels*, living side by side in the same village, would stand so far apart in hostile feeling that no effort would be made by one to check the massacre, within the village walls, of another.

We have unfortunately very scanty evidence as to the structure of the other Nágá tribes. The two tribes of the Aos, the Chungli and Mongsen, are divided into exogamous sub-divisions, the names of all or some of which vary from village to village. Although no member of any of these sub-divisions might marry within his group, any Mongsen could marry any Chungli.

An apparent survival of annual tribal marriage was recently observed among this tribe in a yearly festival at which the youth of one *khel* performed a mimic capture of the girls of another *khel*.²

¹ The Angámi.

² See *infra*, p. 176.

The Semá Nágás are divided into many exogamous sub-divisions, within which no marriage can take place. One or perhaps two other tribes are noticed as observing strict rules against the marriage of the same family.¹ In the absence of information all that can be asserted is a strong probability that the social structure of all the Nágá tribes was not more advanced than that of the powerful Angámi; that the tie of kinship and not the tie of land prevailed; and that thus the villages were merely convenient building places for clans to gather in, and not any organic part of the social structure. At the present day children belong to the father's *khel* in all Nágá tribes of the Nágá Hills District.

Village Government.—The government of a village community such as this would naturally tend to be democratic; each independent *khel* would demand a voice in any common action; and the system of blood-feud and head hunting would check the growth of any one clan into a position of supreme power.

We find accordingly that the village group is described as a democratic community, each man is said to be as good as his neighbour, and the headmen possess little authority.

Hereditary Chiefs.—In older accounts the presence is repeatedly noticed of hereditary chiefs who possessed a merely nominal power. In one tribe each village community had one or generally two such chiefs, and the eldest son took over the dignity during his father's life-time, should the latter be very infirm; the practical affairs of the tribe were settled by a council of (Luhupas) aged chiefs and warriors.² Another tribe possessed a McCulloch, hereditary village chief who had no great influence, F. 67. but received a leg of every animal killed for a feast, with the first of the wine; and the assistance of the village in his cultivation, if he asked it, on one day in the season; Brown, another account of possibly the same tribe describes p. 39. two hereditary village chiefs, the *Khulbu*, the head, and the *Khulákpa*, the inferior. The *Khulbu* by virtue of his office received the heads of all the game killed, and the first brew of liquor made by each family in the village community. The *Khulákpa* received inferior presents, and they were both entitled to seats of honour at feasts and other village meetings.³

¹ Among the Lhotas "marriage within the circle or (*sic*) a man's blood relations is not permitted." "Assam Census Report, 1891," p. 248.

² Angámi. See *infra*.

³ See McCulloch, p. 66, for a different account of officers of the Tangkool tribe, viz., the "Koolakpa" and the "Koolpoo."

(Miyang-
khang)
Brown,
p. 32.
(Marams)
Brown,
p. 32.

The villages of another tribe are said to have each a chief who is chief in nothing but name. The chiefs of the Maram tribe seem to have been regarded in the light of those semi-divine kings of whose onerous life Mr. Frazer gives full evidence.¹ The Marams were described in 1872 as having two chiefs, the great and the little chief. Neither had any fixed revenue, but the village would build the house of the great chief, and gave him the hind leg of all game caught. "Formerly, no one was allowed to plant his rice until the great chief allowed it, or had finished his planting. This mark of superiority is not at present allowed by the lesser chief, who plants without reference to his superior." There were many prohibitions in regard to the food, animal and vegetable, which the chief should eat, and the Marams said the chief's post must be an uncomfortable one, on account of these restrictions. Other primitive kings endured burdens similar to these of the Maram chief, as we may see in the account given by Diodorus Siculus of those kings of Egypt to whom only two kinds of flesh and a limited quantity of wine were permitted.²

Among the more Eastern Nágás, the chiefs' houses were much larger than those of the common people, according to Dalton; that of one chief was a well constructed building of 250 to 300 feet in length, and occupied "the centre and highest position in the village as the manor house." Dalton adds that the great chiefs had "chairs or rather stools of state on which they and their sons sit; the ruler's stool being the highest, that of the heir apparent a step lower and the other members of the family lower still."

Captain Brodie in 1841 found a (Changneye) chief to whom all the Nágás between the Deko and Jeypore looked as their head, "that is they pay tribute called chace consisting of some grain cloth &c., but beyond his own Dwar [viz., pass] I do not find that he has any real power or influence."³ Two other instances of a chieftaincy exerting limited powers may be quoted from a Report of 1854. Capt. Holroyd gives a curiously complex description of Nágá government:—Each clan is ruled by its council, and no important measure concerning the welfare of the clan [is] undertaken without the

¹ J. G. Frazer, "Golden Bough," i, chap. ii.

² J. G. Frazer, "Golden Bough," quoting Diodorus Siculus, "Bibl. Hist." i, 70.

³ "India Office Records." MS. Report of Capt. Brodie, Sept. 15, 1841. § 10.

consent of the elders. The president is called Khoubao, and the deputies Sundekee and Khonsaie; all consultations are held in the Morung or hall of justice, and no operation undertaken, till it has been carried by the votes of the council. The title, and position of Khoubao is hereditary, the eldest son invariably succeeding to the authority. The Khoubao receives all embassies replying thereto on his own authority or after consultation with his council, and in fact may be looked upon as the mouth-piece of the people. Still the power of the chief is paramount in all matters of life and death and the punishment of offences committed by any of his clan.¹

The other case of a limited chiefship mentioned by Capt. Holroyd is that of a "Changuoe" chief who aspired to a general control over all the tribes between what he spells as the "Boree Dehing" and "Dekhoo" rivers; but it did not appear that the offerings made by the other chiefs were considered as a mark of subjection, but simply a custom that had prevailed from the fact of the other chiefs all being descended in some way or other from the Changuoe family. (This looks like a later report of the Changney chiefship mentioned by Brodie in 1841.) Here the position of the chief was apparently based simply on priority of kindred.

Leaving these older records we find one tribe recently described as distinguished from other tribes of the Nágá Hills district by the possession of hereditary village chiefs. "These chiefs," Mr. Davis writes in 1891, "have many privileges, *i.e.*, their subjects cut their *jhúms* and cultivate them for them for nothing; they get a portion of A. C. R., every animal killed in the chase, and generally are 1891, p. 246. in a position far superior to that of an ordinary Nágá headman. These chiefs invariably have three or four wives, and usually large families. It is the custom for the sons as they grow up to start new villages on their own account." A marked difference has been asserted to exist between the social system of certain Western and Eastern

¹ Capt. Holroyd. Mills' Report, Appendix M, p. cxiii. This account is confirmed in a paper by Mr. S. E. Peal, written thirty years later, describing a visit to the Nágá Hills. "A Sowdong and a Hundekai both of whom I knew well, were here waiting for our arrival. A 'Sowdong' is a sort of travelling deputy to the Rájah (by 'Rájah' Mr. Peal seems to mean the chief of the tribe); and a 'Hundekai' is a resident deputy, and is of a higher grade. The highest next to the Rájah and his family is a 'Khúnsai,' and there is one to each village." When Mr. Peal's party were passing on to see the village of Loughong, the Khúnsai of that place, who had met them on the road, gave them his formal permission to proceed, "this we had omitted to wait for, but it seems to be considered by them necessary." S. E. Peal, "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengál," vol. xli, p. 11.

Nágás,¹ powerful chiefs being ascribed to the latter, whereas in the former district the chief's authority would be almost nil. Captain Butler, Deputy Commissioner of the Nágá Hills, did not attach weight to this difference. In a paper of 1873, he says, "I am myself, however, rather sceptical on this point, and am inclined to believe that the Nágá nowhere really accepts a chief in our sense of the term." He proceeds to describe as chiefs men given power by popularity, "leaders of public opinion," nominally the heads of clans. "The Government of every Nágá tribe with whom I have had intercourse is a purely democratical one, and whenever anything of public importance has to be undertaken, all the Chiefs (both old and young) meet together in solemn conclave, . . . as to any one single Chief exercising absolute control over his people, the thing is unheard of."² Among the Luhupas, according to Dr.

Brown, each village formed a republic of its own, and there were no principal chiefs. On the other

hand he describes the Mao tribe, with its twelve villages, as under one chief; from each house the chief received one basket of rice. Mr. Damant speaks of a tribe, to the north-east of Manipúr, who inhabited ten villages all under one chief.

That nominal hereditary village chiefs existed within the Nágá village inclosure is evident; but of the nature of their office we are left much in the dark. Surer ground is reached when we turn to the functions of the elected rulers.

Elected Rulers.—The elected heads of the Nágás are called by Johnstone, Sir James Johnstone *Puemahs*; he says that they "My Experiences in Manipúr," often remain in office for years and are greatly respected, though liable at any time to be displaced; p. 28. "they are in theory only *primus inter pares*." Four Mackenzie, or five middle-aged men who had earned a reputation p. 401. as warriors guided to some extent one of the eastern clans. The only constituted authority found by Stewart among the Nágás of North Kachar was that of the council of elders

¹ Aitcheson, Brodie, quoted by Butler, Sir A. Mackenzie, "North-East Frontier of Bengal," p. 86. Dalton, 1872, pp. 39 and 42, speaks of the Nágás east of the Doyang river as "divided into great clans under hereditary chiefs who appear to exercise great influence over their people." He infers from Stewart that west of the Doyang no chiefs are acknowledged. The passage in Dalton on p. 39, as to diverging polity, religion, and customs requires a map in the author's spelling to be intelligible. A passage in Mr. Aitcheson's "Treaties" is somewhat at variance with the account of the Semás in the "Assam Census 1891, and omits to notice the Angámi nominal but hereditary chiefs. He says: "Unlike the Angámis, Semás, and Lhotas, who are intensely democratic in their social economy, many of the eastern Nágás appear to acknowledge the authority of Râjas and minor chiefs among themselves." Aitcheson. 1892. Vol. i, p. 230.

² Butler, quoted by Mackenzie, p. 86.

who settled petty disputes and property disagreements, and the moderate authority of a "Gáon Búra"¹ or village spokesman, some elder appointed, not always for life, through a reputation for superior wisdom or by the influence of wealth; but as he overlooked the existence of the nominal Angámi chiefs his observation may have been at fault elsewhere. In the Rengma tribe a village council of elders settled all trivial offences, imposing fines on the culprits. Among the Angámis the village councillors settled matters of war and revenge, and administered fines for petty crime. The statement by Capt. Holroyd that the Khoubao or president of a clan council held office by hereditary right is noteworthy.

The democratic nature of the Nágá society is emphasised in the latest account we have. Mr. Davis, in the Census Report for 1891, says of the Aó tribe, "each village amongst the Aós is a small republic, and each man is as good as his neighbour, indeed, it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities. Headmen (*tátár*) do exist, but their authority is very small." The only Nágá tribe in which he finds headmen with any real power is that of the Sema, whose prominent hereditary village chiefs have already been noticed.

On the whole it may be concluded that the Nágá government consists in the decisions of a council of chosen members of a village, who confer on matters of public importance, and who administer punishment for crime; and in the persons of hereditary chiefs who exercise some rights and show some signs of primitive royalty, but who take little active part in the political and social administration. It may be conjectured that in former days the chiefs reigned supreme over each *khel*, by primitive right divine, and as descendants of the ancestors whose name the khels bear, and that as the khels gathered into village enclosures the civil power of the chiefs declined before the practical needs of selecting the fittest advisers for the community; and that out of this decline one or two of the more potent survived with partial power. But till we have more details, especially as to the inter-khel rules of precedence and as to the genealogies of the nominal chiefs, this must be merely surmise.

Central Authority.—No record is forthcoming of any general authority, whether of an individual chief or of a leading village, among the Nágá tribes. The Report of 1854 describes the Nágás from the Northern Kachar to the extreme eastern point of Assam as having no common bond of union; "each village

¹ For Gáon búra, read búrha = an old man. (Hindi.)

has a democratical government of its own, and each would reign distinct over its own hill and adjacent culturable lands, but that alliances have been forced upon them by the power and conquest of larger villages or been sought for to protect the weaker villages against the stronger. The confederation (*sic*) thus formed are however small, and are generally connected with some Dowar or passage through the hills to Assam or Ava, the monopoly of the trade by which they endeavour to secure for themselves."

Social Rules and Penalties.—The social rules and penalties by which individual life in a Nágá village is regulated include prohibitions to marry within a man's own *khel*; among the eastern tribes, according to Dalton, a prohibition to marry until a man had won the right to have his face elaborately tattooed, a right not granted till he had taken a human scalp or skull, or shared in some expedition in which scalps or skulls were taken; a stringent obligation to perform the duties of blood feud, a murderer being liable to punishment at the hands of the (Angámi and surviving relatives many years after the deed; a Luhupas.) punishment of death to the man for infringement of the marriage law; and fines for theft (for which offence in one tribe death might be inflicted if the thief were (Luhupas.) "caught red-handed"), and for petty offences.

The means for the prevention of crime within the Nágá communities in the case of the Angámi tribe, and doubtless in others also, fall into two divisions, those offences liable to immediate punishment by the hand of the aggrieved persons; and those adjudged by a council of elders. Murder comes within the first category; "the relations of the murdered person instantly, if possible, spear the murderer without reference to the council of elders." In case of infringement of the marriage law the injured husband speared the offender "on the first opportunity," it may be inferred without reference to any council. Thefts and other petty offences on the other hand were disposed of by the elders, who imposed a fine and restoration of the property or its equivalent. Unfortunately this distinction of offences liable to individual justice, and those dealt with by the council, is only mentioned in one Report; more knowledge on this point is much to be desired. The penalty for infringement of the marriage law was death among the Mao, Maram, and Luhupa¹ tribes; among the latter the woman

¹ The fullest account we have of the Luhupa Nágá takes the Luhupas to be but a branch of the "Tonkhul" tribe. This account was written in 1873, and giving the preference to Mr. Damant's later classification, all descriptions of Tonkhuls and Tangkools will be inserted here as applying to the Luhupa tribe;

was never taken back by the injured husband. Nágá punishments for theft included death, beating, and fines; on the other hand in two tribes it was of ordinary occurrence and not considered disgraceful. Lieut. Stewart in his account of the Nágás of North Kachar finds the chief social restraint in the system of blood feud, a system which seems to have penetrated the whole social structure. His account may be somewhat exaggerated, and may fail to take into consideration the obligations of savage religion, but it is of value as showing the impression made on an observer by the Nágá communities fifty years ago; and also for showing how thoroughly these communities were actuated by the sense of kinship. After speaking of the Nágá intense feeling for revenge, a revenge carried to extreme lengths for even trifling offences, he says, "This feeling is not confined to individuals, but taken up between communities, and often by parties in one and the same community. Is there a quarrel between two Nágás of different villages, the dispute inevitably causes bloodshed, and a feud is established between the villages of the two disputants, which nothing will assuage, and which, in time as advantage offers, will find issue in some dreadful massacre. The Nágás are exceedingly treacherous in enmity, and brook no insult. An insult given, it is a point of honour to have blood—and blood shed by one party calls for a like stream on the part of the other. When any difference occurs between two men of the same village, which is rarely the case, each individual has his party who cling to him and take up his quarrel, not by any means from a sense of justice, but from relationship—and a civil war ensues . . ." The result of this system Stewart found to be a reluctance to enter into quarrels which entailed consequences so disastrous, and hence a society "living in general peace and honesty." He compares the action of the law of revenge as an efficient deterrent among the clans of the Scotch Highlands some 150 years before the date of writing.

The restraint of life governed by inexorable blood feuds was mitigated among these North Kachar Nágás by a quaint custom. At stated times, once or twice a year, the whole village adjourned to some convenient place, and a general *melée* took place, everyone fighting for his own band. No weapons were used, but severe bruises and scratches resulted, yet these

if further knowledge shows that the Tonkhuls of Dr. Brown and the Tangkools of Major McCulloch are not synonymous with the Tangkhol subdivision of the Lohupas of Mr. Damant, the error may perhaps be pardoned in view of tribal perplexities recorded in apparently phonetic spelling.

Stewart, never gave ground for a quarrel, "whereas at other
p. 610. times the lifting of a hand would lead to a blood feud." This excellent system afforded vent for private grudges.

Marriage.—If the Nágá rules providing for individual punishments were stringent, the rules that regulate a tribesman's marriage are no less distinct. The elaborate and lengthy forms observed by the Angámi at the present day will be found fully described in the account of that tribe; a central feature is the repeated eating together of bride and bridegroom, doubtless the confirming act of union between them. Among the Luhupas if the omens (taken by holding up a fowl and Brown, observing how it crossed its legs) were favourable, p. 40. parents or friends proceeded to arrange the preliminaries. On the marriage day two dogs, two daós, and liquor were presented by the parents of the bridegroom to those of the bride; and the bride's father then killed a pig which was eaten in the house of the bridegroom's parents. After marriage the bridegroom lived for a few days in the house of the bride's parents, after which he was conveyed to his own house, and another feast of dogs and fowls ended the proceedings. A bride-price was given for the wife. The Luhupas were said to be conspicuous for the amount of free will exercised (presumably by the young couple) in their marriage arrangements. The Stewart, Nágá marriages of Northern Kachar included a p. 614. present to the family of the bride, and a feast to the whole village; the village in return built a house for the newly married couple.

In the Rengma tribe the consent of the girl was obtained as Mills, well as that of her parents, she having a right to p. cxxviii. refuse; the bridegroom according to his means gave fowls, dogs, and spirits to the parents of the girl selected; on the day of his marriage he gave a grand feast to the whole village, they¹ in return being obliged to present the pair with a new house in the village. Dalton describes the more Eastern Dalton, Nágás as marrying comparatively late in life, a p. 41. necessary consequence of the tattoo condition already noticed; there was also a bride-price² which often involved the youth in servitude, at the end of which he was provided for and set up by his father-in-law. A curious marriage omen occurs in the modern practice of the Mongsen branch of the Áo tribe. If a man's proposals have been favourably received, after thirty days the engaged couple go on a trading expedition

¹ The wording of the Report is vague, but presumably it is the village and not the parents who supply the house.

A. C. R., 1891, ² The recent "Assam Census Report" mentions that a wife-price is paid among the Lhota and Semá Nágás.
pp. 247, 248.

for twenty days; if a fair profit be made the omen is good and
 A. C. R., the marriage arrangements are proceeded with, but if
 Report, the results are unfavourable the match is at once
 1891, p. 245. broken off. About three months later, as soon as
 the house is ready for her reception, the girl is escorted to her
 husband's house by all her relations and friends. "A feast is
 given on that day, both at her house and at the house of her
 husband's people." For the first six nights after a woman goes
 to her husband's house, six men and six women sleep in the
 house with the newly married couple, the men, including the
 bridegroom, sleeping together, the women sleeping with the bride.

It is of these Aos that we have a very recent account of what
 appears to be a survival of primitive marriage usage. Mr. Davis,
 Deputy Commissioner of the Nágá Hills district, from whose
 report the following description is quoted, was not aware of the
 existence of similar customs among any other tribe in that district.
 The customs take place at the second of the three chief festivals of
 the year, a festival held in August before the commencement of
 the harvest, and they fall into two parts. "The first of these,"
 Mr. Davis says, "is the custom during the three days the
 A. C. R., festival lasts of having 'tugs-of-war' between the
 1891, p. 244. young men and unmarried girls of each khel. The
 ropes used are thick jungle creepers of great length. The object
 of the girls is to pull the rope right outside the boundaries of
 the khel. This they are seldom allowed to do, the young
 men generally pouncing down on the rope and dragging it
 back before it has been taken clean out of their ground.
 After dark the ropes are dropped, and the second portion of
 the *tamasha* begins. The girls form into circles, holding hands,
 each khel on its own ground. They then begin a monotonous
 chant, at the same time circling slowly round and round.
 This dancing and singing go on for hours, its monotony being
 only interrupted by what may be called raids by the young
 men from a different khel. These come round with lighted
 torches, and having picked out the girls they consider most
 pleasing, proceed to carry them off by force. Such seizures,
 however, lead to nothing worse than drinking, the girls so
 carried off being obliged by custom to stand the young men free
 drinks."

Widows.—Widows are allowed to marry again in the Lhota
 A. C. R., and Ao tribes. In the latter if they marry before a
 1891, p. 245 year has elapsed a fine is imposed; the rule with
 seq. regard to widowers is the same. Sema widows are
 allowed to remarry. The Report of 1854 says that Nágá widows
 Mills, lived in houses of their own, built for them by the
 p. cxxxix. villagers.

Divorce.—Divorce seems to have been resorted to more or less frequently by the Nágá tribes; among the Angámi the compensation to husband or wife varies with the cause of divorce, and an old report of this tribe states that in some cases a divorced woman might live in a house by herself and marry again. Among the Aos a woman who has been divorced for infidelity may not re-marry without paying a considerable fine to her former husband. With the Luhupas divorce was allowed, "but seldom resorted to on account of its great expenses." The present Lhota usage is of less interest as the tribe seems to be placing itself under English administration; marriages are described as made early and as almost entirely matters of arrangement, and divorce cases are said to be very common in consequence; numerous cases for the recovery of marriage expenses from runaway or divorced wives are brought before the divisional officer at Wokha. Among the Semás, women who leave their husbands merely because they do not like them have to repay their marriage price. Should they marry again without doing so a claim would lie against their new husbands. A curious result of Nágá divorce is given by Sir James Johnstone: "Divorce can be easily obtained when there is an equal division of goods. Often a young man takes advantage of this, and marries a rich old widow, and soon divorces her, receiving half her property, when he is in a position to marry a nice young girl."

Polygamy and Polyandry.—Nágá usage as regards polygamy seems to have varied. It was occasionally practised among the Luhupa Nágás, and in rare instances many wives were kept. Under the heading of "The Nágás of Upper Assam," Dalton wrote, "The Nágás confine themselves to one wife." At the present day the Aos and Angámis do not practise polygamy; the Lhotas permit it, but it is only in use among the rich; the Semás allow it, but do not as a rule practise it except in the case of headmen.

The Nágá tribes furnish some evidence on the relation of the respective numbers of men and women to polyandry. In discussing this subject Mr. Gait, in the recent Assam Census Report, says, "until very recently female infanticide was practised amongst several of the Nágá tribes, and there was in consequence a great deficiency of women, but polyandry never resulted from it."¹

¹ Gait: "Assam Census Report, 1891," p. 120.

Child marriage.—The proportion of child marriage is exceedingly low among the Ao and Angámi tribes; the A. C. R., 1891. Luhupas and Nágás of North Kachar were described as not permitting marriage under age, and the latter not till the couple were able to set up house on their own account; the Lhota girls are generally married when thirteen or fourteen years old. Brown and Stewart. A. C. R., 1891, p. 248.

Among the hill tribes of the Nágá Hill district it is stated that immorality before marriage is usually within the *khel*, A. C. R., that is between persons who could not marry in 1891, p. 250. any case; the morality of the tribes in this respect is not described as high. Infringement of the marriage law was Brown, pp. said to be rare among the Luhupas and among the 40 and 35. (Manipuri) Angámi women.

Robinson speaks of the Nágás as having only one wife, "to whom they are strongly attached and of whose chastity they appear very jealous. The women . . . are said to be distinguished for the correctness of their behaviour."¹ The position of the wife among the more Eastern Nágás was good, according to Dalton; she had to work hard, but was otherwise well treated and shared with her husband in all festivities and social amusements.

Birth customs.—We have not much record of birth customs. Seclusion of the mother is noticed among the Angámi tribes, and Brown, pp. with the Luhupas a custom of placing rice in the 34 and 39. mouth of the newly born child recalls a Kuki usage. With the Luhupas on the birth of a child, whether boy or girl, fowls were sacrificed and the women only of the village treated Brown, to liquor. The child immediately after birth had pp. 39-40. chewed rice placed in its mouth, and was immersed in almost boiling water, a treatment "supposed to render the child hardy, and prevent it in after-life from suffering from pains about the back and loins." The mother was wrapped in hot water blankets till faintness ensued; this was repeated two or three times, and on the third day the woman was allowed to go about as usual.

With the Luhupas, the ear-boring of children was often done Brown, collectively, on account of the great expense in p. 40. feasting involved therein.

If twins were born the Nágás held it advisable to destroy both "Assam Ad. infants, according to an official report of 1878-9. Report," Among the Nágá cases tried in the Sibságar district 1878-9. that year. "The only case of interest, as exhibiting

¹ Robinson's "Assam," p. 389. Mr. Peal indicates morality and modesty as attributes of the "Nágánis," i.e., presumably Nágá women. Peal, "Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal," vol. xii, p. 19.

the tenacious persistence of savage customs, was that of a Nágá of the Youngia tribe named Nágpha, who was tried for exposing and abandoning his infant children. This man had lived for twelve years in the plains. He had been confined in the Sibságar Jail as a political offender, and after his release had settled down in the district, working at Jorhát as a sweeper, and had married a Nágá woman. His wife having given birth to twins, the parents promptly threw away the newly-born infants in the jungle, according to the usual practice of the Nágás, among whom it is considered most unlucky to have two at a birth the father was much surprised at his conduct being considered in any way reprehensible."¹

This incident, and the custom reported to be practised by the Nágás, is analogous to a Kafir custom of killing one of twins, done among the Kafirs in order to preserve the life of the parents, especially of the father; the Kafir belief being that the injurious influence supposed to be exerted by twins, both of whom are allowed to live, may affect the father or mother, and if the influence does not kill either of the parents, the twins will kill each other by inducing mutual disease.²

Village young men's hall and guard house.—Before leaving the Nágá social customs one prominent feature of their village society must be noticed. This is the *dekha chang*, an institution in some respects similar to the bachelors' hall of the Melanesians, which again is compared with the *balai*, and other public halls, of the Malay Archipelago. This building, also called a *Morang*, was used for the double purpose of a sleeping place for the young men, and as a guard or watch house for the village.³

The custom of the young men sleeping together is one that is constantly noticed in accounts of the Nágá tribes, and a like custom prevailed in some, if not in all cases for the G. H. girls. Mr. Damant, in a paper on North Káchar, Damant, "Calcutta Review," vol. entirely with their parents"; the young unmarried lxi, p. 93. boys and girls of the Luhupa Nágás were described as sleeping in separate houses apart; among the Semá Nágás Brown, at the present day, bachelors usually sleep together p. 39. in separate houses but these are like the ordinary A. C. R., village houses, and are only used by the young men 1891, p. 247. at night, and the unmarried girls sleep together by threes and fours in the front compartment of certain houses. Mr. Damant in the paper mentioned above, says: "the women

¹ "Assam Administration Report," 1878-9. II B., p. 11.

² Bishop Callaway, "Journal of the Anthropological Society," July, 1866, p. cxxxvii.

³ According to Stewart dekhas = young men (p. 613).

G. H. Damant, "Calcutta Review," vol. lxi; and "Report, &c., on Tour in North Cachar," 1875-6. have also a house of their own called the dekhi chang, where the unmarried girls are supposed to live"; in an official report of a tour in the North Káchar Hills in 1875, he notes of a large Nágá village in the hills, "I saw a Dekhi chang here for the first time. All the unmarried girls sleep there at night; but it is deserted in the day. It is not much different from any ordinary house."

The young men's hall is variously described and named. An article in the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," 1848, says that among the Nágás the "bachelors' hall of the Dayak village is found under the name of Mooring. In this all the boys of the age of nine or ten years upwards reside apart."¹ In a report of 1854, the "morungs" are described as large buildings generally situated at the principal entrances, and varying in number according to the size of the village; "they are in fact the main guard-house, and here all the young unmarried men sleep; in front of the morung is a raised platform as a look-out, commanding an extensive view of all approaches, where a Nágá is always kept on duty as a sentry; in each Morung is a large scooped out tree with a longitudinal opening at the top, extending nearly from end to end and about three inches wide, this is used for sounding the alarm and collecting the warriors together, or on other grand occasions, it is struck with a wooden mallet." . . . "In the Morungs are kept the skulls carried off in battle, these are suspended by a string along the wall in one or more rows over each other. In one of the Morungs of the Changuæ village, Captain Brodie counted one hundred and thirty skulls, . . . besides these there was a large basket full of broken pieces of skulls."² Captain Holroyd, from whose memorandum the above is quoted, speaks later of the Morung as the "hall of justice" in which the consultations of the clan council (already described) are held.

Thirty years ago, the *Morang*, or bachelors' house, of an See A. C. R., Ao village was described by Colonel Woodthorpe, 1891, p. 242. in his "Report of the Survey Operations in the Nágá Hills for 1874-5," as a large building, divided into two parts by a low division; one half, the young men's sleeping place, was floored and contained a hearth, the other half was unfloored. The principal uprights were carved with large figures of men, elephants, tigers, lizards, &c., roughly painted with black, white, and reddish brown. Arranged round the walls were skulls of men and animals, and skilful imitations of the former capable of passing at a little distance for

¹ "Journal of the Indian Archipelago, 1848." II, p. 234.

² Mills' "Report," cxiii; the punctuation is left as in the original.

real skulls. "The ridge of the *morang* projects a few feet in front, and is ornamented with small straw figures of men and tufts of straw . . ." Near the *Morang* would be an open shed in which stood the big drum, formed of a hollowed trunk, and elaborately carved, generally to represent a buffalo's head, painted in front ("after the manner of a figure-head of a ship"), and furnished with a straight tail at the other end. The drum rested on logs, and was sounded by the fall of a heavy piece of wood and by beating with clubs.¹

A. C. R., The *morangs* of another tribe, the "Naked" Nágá, 1891, p. 216. have been recently described as situated close to the village gate, and consist of a central hall, and back and front verandahs. In the large front verandah are collected all the trophies of war and the chase, "from a man's skull down to a monkey's." Along both sides of the central hall are the sleeping berths of the young men; the centre space, floored with massive planks, is left open and used by the braves for their dances.

From these accounts we see that the Nágá *Morang* was used as a sleeping place for the young men, as a relic house for the collection of skulls taken in battle and of animal skulls taken in the chase, as a dancing-place for the "braves," as a council hall in which the clan council met for consultation, and as a guard-house.

Speaking of the Mao and Muram tribes, Dr. Brown says, Brown, "the young men never sleep at home, but at their p. 31. clubs, where they keep their arms always in a state of readiness." This club aspect of the institution is well shown in Mr. Damant's account of it as existing among the Nágás of North Káchar. At each end of the G. H. village,² generally on the highest point of land, Damant, "Calcutta Review," stood a *dekha chang*, and if the village was large vol. lxi. there was occasionally a third in the middle; the building was a kind of guard-house, where all³ the young men of the place kept watch at night, and spent the greater part of the day. It was built like the other houses, but a good deal larger and higher; in front were raised seats where the greater part of the village assembled in the evening and drank rice-beer, while the young men practised running and jumping and putting the stone, of which they were very fond. Inside it was fitted up with benches in two squares, and in the middle of each a fire was constantly burning. Weapons were ranged

¹ R. W. Woodthorpe, Surrey Report, Nágá Hills, 1874-5, quoted in A. C. R., 1891, p. 242.

² The recent "Assam Census Report, 1891," says of the Lhota Nágás, "the *Morangs* or bachelors' houses are conspicuous at each end of the village."

³ "All" is doubtless an error for the night guard set from among the young men of the village.

round the walls, and fastened to the rafters were innumerable skulls of buffaloes, metnas, and wild boars which had been killed in the chase or sacrificed; from the rafters hung a basket full of drinking cups and ladles. In the back-ground there were generally a few pigs, and two old women perpetually grinding rice flour for the manufacture of beer. The dekha chang was also used as a guest house for friendly strangers. In this paper, perhaps referring only to North Kachar, Mr. Damant speaks of the dekha chang as the great institution of a Nágá village. Among the Angámi the custom for the young men to sleep in a house or houses apart was continued for one year after marriage; and among the Marams, according to Dr. Brown, "the married men even p. 31. sleep at the resorts of the bachelors, a custom resulting from their sense of insecurity from attack."

With the Aos at the present day the custom seems to be A. C. R., becoming obsolete; sleeping houses are provided for 1891, p. 243. bachelors, but are seldom used except by small boys. Unmarried girls sleep by twos and threes in houses otherwise empty, or else tenanted by one old woman.

The analogy between the *Dekha Chang*, or *Morang*, of the Nágás and the men's hall of the Melanesians is too close to be overlooked, and in view of the significance of all evidence concerning the corporate life of early communities a description of the latter is here quoted. I am aware of no recorded instance of the women's house, other than these Nágá examples.

Codrington, "In all the Melanesian groups it is the rule that
"Melanesians," there is in every village a building of public character
p. 102. where the men eat and spend their time, the young men sleep, strangers are entertained; where as in the Solomon Islands the canoes are kept; where images are seen, and from which women are generally excluded, and all these no doubt correspond to the *balai* and other public halls of the Malay Archipelago."¹

Individual Property in Land and Inheritance.—Individual property in land is recognised among the Angámi of the Nágá Hills district, and a married woman is allowed the Angámis. possession of property in land in her own right; the sons receive their share of the father's landed property at marriage; unmarried sons receive equal shares after the father's death.² A very different system was observed among the Luhupas. On the eldest son of a family marrying, the parents were "obliged to leave their house with the remainder

¹ Codrington, "Melanesians," p. 102.

² A. C. R., 1891, pp. 240 and 250. The Report does not make it quite clear whether the equal shares refer to landed or other property.

Brown (Luhupas), p. 40. of their family, the son who had married taking two-thirds of the parents' property, not only of the household, but of his father's fields, &c." Occasionally the parents were recalled and allowed to remain for some time, but eventually they had to leave and the property was claimed and divided as above stated. When the parents were well off they provided a house beforehand. The same process might be repeated again and again as the sons married, but according to usual custom the parents might return to the house of the eldest son, after several repetitions.

McCulloch, pp. 66 & 68. McCulloch says of the "Tangkool" that, "on the marriage of his son, the father becomes a person of secondary importance in the house, and is obliged to remove to the front part of it." Of the Luhupas he says the parents and family had to move from their house on the marriage of both the eldest and second sons.

A. C. R., 1891, p. 250. The following note given by Mr. Davis, in the recent Assam Census Report, concerning the present state of property in land in the Nágá Hills district, deserves quotation in full: "Private rights of property in land are the rule amongst all the tribes in this district, except the Kukis, Mikirs, and plains Rengmás, *i.e.*, the migratory tribes. That private rights of property in land are not recognised amongst these tribes is due to the fact that they are in no way pressed for land, the villages being small and uncut jungles extensive. When, however, we come to tribes like the Angámis, Lhotás, and Aos, who live in permanent and large villages, and amongst whom land is none too plentiful, we find that the rights of individuals to property in land are well known and well recognised, and the rules as to inheritance and partition of such property settled by strict customary law. Amongst the Angámis land, specially permanent terraced cultivation, is freely sold and bought, there being no more difficulty in selling a terraced field than in selling a pig or a cow. Amongst the other tribes the custom of letting out land is largely practised, a rent varying from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 for a field (*jhúm*) large enough for the support of a household being the usual amount charged for the use of land for two years."¹

G. H. Damant, "Calcutta Review," vol. lxi; and Report on tour in North Kachar Hills, 1876, § 7. NOTE.—An extraordinary village rule is mentioned by Mr. Damant, in speaking of the Nágás of the Northern Kachar Hills: "Each village has its own boundaries, and they exact rent from any other Nagas who may venture to joom [*jhúm*] within their limits, though they do not interfere with Kookies [Kukis] or Cacharies." In a Report of 1876, on a tour in the North Kachar Hills, Mr. Damant says that among the Nágás each village only *jhúms* within its own limits.

¹ "Assam Census Report, 1891," p. 250.

Slavery.—We have but little information as to the existence of slavery among the Nágás. Among the Aos it is said to A. C. R., have been universal. Slaves were not infrequently 1891, p. 244. paid by one village to another to make up a quarrel, and as a kind of compensation for heads taken by them. "Slaves paid in this way were invariably slaughtered by the village which received them, as an offering to the spirits of the men on their side who had been killed." Female slaves were not allowed to marry or have children, and are not tattooed. Slavery was unknown among one or more tribes according to Brown, pp. 30 and 42. Dr. Brown. He describes the Luhupas as violently opposed to it. An instance of their hatred of the practice is given in the action of a father who being unable to release his children who had been captured in resistance to the State of Manipur and sold as slaves, came down the hills, slew them both, and carried away their heads.

Oaths.—The value of a Nágá oath is variously estimated. A. C. R., The oath of the Semás of the present day is said to 1891, p. 247. be untrustworthy; this tribe are also accused of having had a disregard for the law of hospitality amounting to the killing of a well received guest, when off his guard, without G. H. compunction. On the other hand Mr. Damant, Damant, while on tour in 1875-6, was much struck with the 1875-6. extreme respect shown for an oath by some North Kachar Nágás; the people of a certain village declining to accept an offer made by another village of meeting their demands in full, on condition of the claim being made on oath, by reason of inability to state quite exactly the amount of damage done.¹

Tattoo.—The use of tattoo among the Nágás is another of the many points on which we have just enough information to make us wish for more. An incident mentioned by Mr. Peal, writing in 1872, indicates that the tattoo was a means by which neighbouring tribes, separated by the diversity of languages which obtained among them, recognised one another: "When once with a number of Banparas [Nágás] on the road, a large party of Nagas passed, and as neither party spoke, I asked who they were. I was pointed out their hill, and on asking why they did not speak, they said they would not understand one another. This I thought a good opportunity to try them, and told them to call them in Nágá and ask who they were. On being called to, they all turned round, and stopped, but said nothing; I then made them call again; but to no purpose, the other party simply jabbered together in twos and threes, and on calling them a third time as to where they were going, they

¹ G. H. Damant, "Official Diary of Tour in North Kachar Hills," 1875-6.

shouted out a lot of Nágá which my fellows could not make out. Both parties passed on, unable to exchange a word, though living within a few miles of each other. A few words did pass, but they were Assamese. I asked how they knew the men, and they said 'by their ák,' or tattoo marks."¹ The old records of 1842-4 say that most of the tribes in that north-eastern part Mackenzie, of the Nágá country lying between the Bori Dihung p. 86. and Dikhu rivers had their faces tattooed with distinctive marks.

A. C. R., Among the Áos of the present day the men are 1891, p. 243. not tattooed. The women are tattooed on face, neck, breasts, arms, and legs. The tattoo on the face is slight and confined to four vertical lines on the chin; these are the same for both the Chungli and Mongsen sub-divisions of the Áos.² The other tattoo marks are different for either sub-division, the difference in pattern on the arms and calves of the leg being very noticeable.

Besides the use of tattoo as a mark of a man's tribe, it was, as we have seen, the sign of a successful head-taking which G. H. permitted a man to marry. Mr. Damant says of Damant, the more Eastern Nágás that "most of the tribes Jour. R. tattoo; the tattoo, 'ák,' as it is called, not being given Asiatic Soc., vol. xii, n.s. except to men who have killed an enemy."

Referring to Nágá Hills usage Mr. Peal speaks of social position as depending on tattooing, the tattoo being only won by bringing in the head of an enemy; the man who brought in a head was no longer called a boy or a woman, and could assist in Peal, Jour. councils; it was said that he seldom went out again on Asiatic Soc., a raid. "The head he brings, is handed to the Rájah, Bengal, vol. who confers the 'ák,' or right of decoration by tattoo, xii, p. 20. at which there is great feasting." All those who got heads won the ák on the face; those who got hands and feet had marks accordingly, for the former on the arms, for the latter on the legs. Mr. Peal adds that no two tribes had marks alike, and some even did not tattoo the face.

Tattoo thus seems to have been the sign of full membership in the tribe; not till a man had shown his efficiency as a fighter might he wear the tribal badge or take the position of a married man.

¹ S. E. Peal, "Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal," xli, p. 23.

² Although the tattoo is partially alike it may be noticed that the dialects of the Chungli and Mongsen are so dissimilar as to be practically different languages. A. C. R., 1891, p. 241.

RELIGION.

Some clear forms of primitive ritual and belief emerge from the meagre accounts which are at present our only record of the religion of the Nágá race.

That record is incomplete at every turn; only one observer gives a named list of gods; yearly festivals are passed by with a hasty word; and scarcely an attempt has been made to arrive at the convictions which underlie the active ritual of a people whose lives are conditioned by their supposed relations with spiritual forces.

Chief Deity.—There is little evidence as to whether the Nágás do or do not believe in any supreme deity.

A belief in a supreme creator called Terhopfò or Kepenopfò A. C. R., is ascribed, in the late Assam Census Report, to the 1891, p. 241. Angámi of the present day, and twenty years ago a partial if not general Angámi belief in a supreme benevolent deity, who dwelt on the highest hills, was recorded. Among this tribe Sir James Johnstone found a "vague indefinite belief" in a beneficent supreme being, in common with most of the hill tribes with which he was acquainted. The Luhupas, according to Dr. Brown, believed "in one supreme deity, who is of a benevolent disposition, and who inhabits space." Robinson says of the Nágás, "They seem to have a perception that there must be some universal Cause to whom all things are indebted for their being. They appear also to acknowledge a Divine Power to be the Maker of the world, and the Disposer of all events: Him they denominate the Great Spirit. Their ideas of him, however, are faint and confused; and of his attributes, they are entirely ignorant."¹ On the other hand Stewart found none among the various deities acknowledged by the North Kachar p. 611. Nágás to whom creation was ascribed, "the universe being pre-existent to their gods, and remaining unaccounted for." Further information would probably show belief in a distant first cause, remote from the affairs of living men.²

Various Gods or Spirits.—No uncertainty hangs over the Nágá beliefs in the power of the unseen agencies who cause sickness, and give prosperity, to whose favour riches are due, whose dwelling is in the uncut jungle, or rocks, or water, before whose presence on a day of sacrifice all evil spirits must be

¹ Robinson, Assam, p. 396.

² Mr. W. Croke considers that there may possibly be Vaishnava influence in any belief in a single supreme deity among any of these Nágá or Kuki tribes.

driven from the village, and who are challenged for the death of a tribesman with curses and war cries.

Mills, 1854, p. cxlii. Many gods or spirits, each with power to give prosperity and success, or to inflict sickness and calamity, dwelt in the Angami hills; to these the people sacrificed cows, mithun (wild cow), dogs, cocks, and liquor.

The Nágas of North Kachar were characterised by Mr. Damant G. H. as a very religious people, doing nothing of importance without sacrificing a fowl or pig, or offering up some eggs or beer. We are indebted to Lieutenant Stewart for a named list of the gods of this district. "The first person in their mythology is 'Semeo,' the god of riches, to whom all those who seek wealth make sacrifices." He was supposed to inflict sudden reverses of fortune and sickness on those who having wealth did not sacrifice to him; large animals were reserved for him. "Kuchimpai" was the god of the harvest, as well as one possessing general influence over human affairs; to him sacrifices were made of goats, fowls and eggs, and prayers were offered for the prosperity of the crop. Among the malignant deities "Rupiába" had the first place; to his displeasure all the misfortunes that may fall on men were ascribed; offerings of dogs and pigs were made to appease his wrath; in appearance he was supposed to be fierce and ungainly, with one eye in the midst of his forehead. Rupíába had an assistant in a fierce blind god named "Kanguiba"; he was worshipped at cross roads where passers-by piled up his propitiatory offerings, generally consisting of a few common leaves. Stewart says this is because he cannot distinguish the value of his offerings; "when fowls are sacrificed to this god, a very small fowl indeed is selected, and placed in a large basket at the appropriate place. The blind god *feeling* the size of the basket, takes it for granted that the contents are commensurately bulky, and deals his favours accordingly!"

Brown, p. 41. The Luhupas believed in a deity of evil disposition who resided between heaven and earth, and in whose hands was the power of death. Of the Rengmas, the old Report of 1854 tells us, "Like other hill tribes, they acknowledge the power of a plurality of gods, and sacrifices of cows, pigs and fowls are offered on all occasions."

The Aos of the present day are described as having an intense belief in the powers of certain spirits,¹ which A. C. R., 1891, p. 244. reside usually in rocks, pools of water, and streams. "Two of the most well known stones in which reside *Deos* are

¹ Characterised in the Census Report as "evil"; in what sense is not stated. In connection with primitive ethics it may be interesting to note that in several languages of this frontier (Manipuri, Kachari, Ao Nágá, Lhota Nágá,

the Lungpalung, close to Lungpa village, and the Changchanglung, between the villages of Dibua and Woromong. Sacrifices are regularly offered to these stones by the villages near them."

Infra, s.v., The Angámi have been recently described as Angámi, believing in "evil" spirits (see note¹ p. 187) residing in rocks, trees, and pools of water.

Sanctity of Forests and Trees.—The sanctity attached to forests appears in the solemn rites enacted by the Nágás of North Kachar, before burning the newly felled wood. The A. C. R., "Genna" mentioned in the following description is a 1891, p. 249. ritual custom, still common to Nágá and Kuki tribes, of placing a rigorous taboo on villages, clans (*khels*), or individuals. "Before burning newly felled patches of jungle for cultivation, it is the invariable custom to establish a Genna. On this occasion, all the fires in the village are extinguished, and a cow or buffalo being slain, they roast it with fire freshly kindled by means of rubbing together two dry pieces of wood, make sacrifice and eat, after which they proceed in procession with torches lit from the fresh fire to ignite the felled jungle."¹

Localised forest-dwelling deities were recognised by the Nágás of this district. "Certain parts of the forest," Mr. Damant wrote, "are supposed to be the abode of deities, and no traveller passes without plucking a branch off the nearest tree and putting it on a large heap of former offerings, which is surrounded by a number of egg-shells stuck on sticks, and bones of animals that have been sacrificed." Nágá tree worship was not only a thing of the forest. Every village of the war-like Lhota tribe was described in 1879 as containing a sacred tree to which the skulls of victims were nailed. In describing a visit to a village of the eastern Nágás, Mr. Peal says that the fruit of village 'jack' trees was said to be "religiously respected."

The jungle seems to have been regarded by the Angámi as a

and Tamlu), the word for bad is merely the word for good used with the negative particle; i.e., *not* good = bad. Thus in Ao, *ta-chung* = good, and *ta má chung* = bad (*ta* = adjectival prefix, *má* = not); and in Lhota, *mho* = good, and *'mmho* = bad (*'m* = not). The Angámi and Sema Nágás have separate words for "bad," but the word for good with the negative particle is as frequently used to express bad as the special words. See "Assam Census Report, 1891," p. 167.

¹ Stewart, 612. See Dalton, "Ethnology of Bengal," p. 43. On p. 40, Dalton, speaking of the destruction of forests by the more eastern Nágá says: "They appear to have no superstitious dread of the sylvan deities like the Abors to restrain them."

dwelling place of the spirits which caused severe sickness, and also sudden deaths of animals. In sickness, offering was made of part of a fowl in the road, at evening, but if the sickness was severe, the fowl was taken into the jungle and left alive "as an Mills, offering to the living spirit"; to one spirit, the p. cxliii. offering would be killed and left in the jungle. In case of sudden death of cows, or pigs, an invocation was addressed to the spirit "at the spot on which the cow was killed,"¹ in which it was reminded "this is not your residence, your abode is in the woods."²

Intercourse with Gods and Spirits.—Only the most inadequate evidence is available as to the relations between the Nágas and their gods and spirits. Intercourse, we gather, is carried on by means of sacrifice and omens, and doubtless by invocation, as in the case of the wood spirit mentioned above.

Sacrifice.—Nága sacrifice is of that primitive order in which the rite is an act of uniting the worshipped and the worshippers by means of the great primitive bond of eating together; a fact of the utmost significance in appreciating the religious position of these tribes. Speaking of tribal beliefs, Mr. Gait says, summing up the main features "common to almost all the tribes" of the Assam frontier, "on all necessary occasions goats, fowls, and other animals are offered to the gods"; to these the blood and entrails belong, the flesh being divided amongst the sacrificer A. C. R., and his friends, and the presiding "soothsayer" usually 1891, p. 93. getting the chief share. This general statement is corroborated by Stewart, who says, writing forty years ago of the North Kachar Nágas, that to the gods little more than the Stewart, entrails and offal were apportioned, the remainder of p. 612. the sacrifice being consumed by the petitioners. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the world-wide rite of offering the blood, the vehicle of life to the primitive mind, to the god, while the material flesh is eaten by the worshippers.

The commensal sacrifice, in which the god and his worshippers meet together in the partaking of a common offering, suggests a certain nearness of the supernatural presence, and the same idea seems carried out in the curious village ritual of a "day of sacrifice" described by Mr. Damant. In an official diary of a tour in the North Kachar Hills, in 1875, he writes, "I was in a measure obliged to halt to-day, as the Nágas were holding a Kanang or Ganang—i.e., a day of sacrifice,—and refused to go to Mujudui, my next stage, and to have compelled them would probably have created a disturbance. They said last night that the village

¹ In the Report the reference may be to death by a tiger.

² See *infra*, s.v. Angámis.

would be closed against everyone, including myself. I objected to this, and told them I should insist on going into the village whenever I pleased, though I would prevent any of my people going while the worship was going on. After some demur they

agreed to this. This morning their "Hojai," as they call the priest, came to the gate of the ponjee with two other men, one leading a dog and the other scattering grains of rice, the Hojai calling in a loud voice to all evil spirits to leave the place; the dog was brought out and sacrificed by beating it to death with clubs, and then taken away to be eaten. On these occasions they neither leave the village themselves, nor suffer anyone to enter it, and they will do no work." On passing another place which was holding a *Kanang*, Mr. Damant found a fence built across the entrance to the village.

Ceremonial seclusion and taboo.—This brings us to the custom of *Genna*, or the ceremonial closing of a village or house, which seems to be enforced on occasions of special manifestation of supernatural power, or of intercourse between the gods and their worshippers. Thus a *Genna* will be enforced during a village festival; during an unusual occurrence, such as an earthquake, or eclipse, or the burning of a village within sight of the village on that account ceremonially closed;¹ according to Stewart, "*Genna*" was observed after consultation of omens to discover the deity to be worshipped in any special case,—"*the village is strictly closed for two days, the inhabitants abstaining from all labor, and neither going out themselves nor permitting anyone to enter during that period,*" a prohibition doubtless intended to prevent the possible return of the evil spirits so carefully expelled by the priest whom Mr. Damant saw at work; and "*Genna*" was invariably established as we have seen

at the making of new-fire by the village, accompanied by a commensal village sacrifice, before the burning of the newly felled jungle. "*During gennas affecting whole villages or khels no work is done. The people remain in their villages; outsiders are, by strict custom, not allowed into the villages, or, if allowed in, cannot be entertained. Nothing is allowed to be taken out of the village or brought into it during the continuance of a genna.*"

¹ Mr. Damant, in his official diary of his "Tour in the North Kachar Hills," 1875, writes, "Went on to Nenglo . . . The Nágas did not give me a dance as usual, because a tiger had killed a metna and a *kanáng* was being held: it appears to mean a day devoted to poojah—at any rate, they will do no work except what is absolutely necessary, and will not stir out of the village if they can help it."

The custom affects not only villages, or khels, but also single households. A household Genna occurs at the birth of a child, or if any domestic animal, such as a cow or dog, brings forth A. C. R., young. "On such occasions no outsider is allowed 1891, p. 249. into the house, and food and drink can be given to no one, even the most intimate friend." The Deputy Commissioner of the Nágá Hills, Mr. Davis, was himself refused a drink at a house because the house dog had had puppies. Mr. Davis attributes two meanings to the word: (i) it may mean practically a village holiday (as in the early reports, which describe the people as refusing to work during the "Taboo" period); (ii) *Genna* means anything forbidden.

The old accounts of funeral rites evidently refer to a death *genna*, when it is stated that after the death of a man of any Mills, standing, none of the inhabitants of a village quitted p. exliii. it for three days; and that for three or four days after a death the relatives do not leave the village, neither do other villagers resort to the village in which a death has "Jour. Ind. occurred during that period. On the whole the Arch." vol. ii, Nágá and Kuki *Genna* appears to be much the same p. 34, 1894. as primitive religious taboo.¹ The distinction between A. C. R., *gennas* affecting whole villages, *khels* only, or single 1891, p. 249. households, is noteworthy.

A curious custom which now prevails among the Lhota and Ao Nágás seems to indicate a belief that any place or persons, against whom supernatural displeasure has been manifested, are dangerous or "taboo"; the spiritual infection extending even to the clothes of the household. Mr. Davis writes, "Should any member of a household be killed by a tiger, by drowning, by falling from a tree, or by being crushed by a falling tree, the surviving members of the household abandon the house, which is wrecked, and the whole of their property, down to the very clothes they are wearing, and leave the village naked, being supplied outside the village with just enough clothing to cover their nakedness by some old man amongst their relations. Thenceforth for a month they are A. C. R., condemned to wander in the jungle. At the *ibid.* expiration of this period, the wrath of the deity being supposed to be appeased, they are allowed to return to the village. Neither they nor anyone else can touch again any of the abandoned property, nor can a fresh house be

¹ Brown (p. 19) mentions what looks like a food taboo among the Nágás and other hill men within Manipur rule: "Milk, or any of its products, is avoided equally by all the tribes: milk seems to be considered unclean and unfit for food. This prejudice does not extend to the suckling of children, who are not removed from the breast unusually early."

built on the site of the old one that has been abandoned. The custom is, I believe, still carried out with the greatest strictness."

We seem to have here the same order of thought which enforces a ritual seclusion during times of sacrifice, or of unusual occurrences in a village, or in the presence of birth or death.

Disease.—The confusion of primitive thought between abstract and concrete, between spiritual agencies and material substance, is well shown in the Nágá attitude towards disease. How tangible a thing to them the power of sickness is, we see in an incident noted by a former Political Officer of the Nágá Hills. At the Government station of Samaguting a Kuki was attacked by smallpox, and kept by his friends in the scouts lines. The destruction of the lines was necessary, and the Nágás learnt of the case. "The two old Chiefs paid hurried visits to announce that they were all off, leaving their property to our care, and only asking for a bottle of rum to be taken as medicine if they got ill in the jungle. Attempts to reason with them were not the slightest use, and away they all went. The disease was treated as a personal enemy, and the village abandoned as would have been done before the coming of an invader too powerful to resist. The men were all fully armed, the women and children were surrounded, and then all started fair at best pace; they kept away a month, and then returned with the same precautions as when leaving, approaching very cautiously with shields well to the front, and peeping round every corner before a further advance, until gradually the whole village was occupied. When they fairly satisfied themselves that no one but the Kookie had been ill, they were rather ashamed of running away; but it was not until some time after when they saw him going about, very little the worse in appearance, that the idea that he had been burnt alive was abandoned. Before, nothing would persuade them that this had not been done, it being looked upon as merely a wise precautionary measure for which we deserved credit."¹

A belief in a disease-giving spirit which can be guarded against by shields and arms, is in perfect consonance with the Nágá funeral rite of a war challenge to the power which has treacherously slain the dead man. Sacrifices or offerings are recorded to deities or spirits in case of sickness; one mention is made of feasting the poor of

¹ "Report of Nágá Hills Administration," 1876-7, by the Political Officer (P. T. Carnegie), p. 11.

A. C. R., the villages¹; among the Aos pigs and fowls are sacrificed in large numbers in order to appease the particular spirit to whose malign influence the sickness is supposed to be due, the offerings being consumed by the friends of the giver of the sacrifice. The Angami made offering of part of a fowl to the disease-causing spirit in the evening, a seemingly chthonic act; parts of the fowl were given to some other family, and the remainder was eaten by relatives of the sick man.

Omens.—Omens seem to have played an important part in the intercourse between gods and men. In North Kachar they were supposed, according to Stewart, to indicate the particular deity that was to be worshipped in order to attain a desired end, or to avert evil. That being ascertained a strict *Genna* would be imposed on the village for two days. Of the Angami it is said that all business or undertakings of importance were decided by consulting omens; the omen might be taken by a prescribed method, or might consist in the common animal omen of an "unlucky beast" appearing in the path. The following method of divination noticed by Mr. Carnegie among the eastern (Sibsagar) Nágas, was employed before going out on a head-hunting expedition; if the omen was bad the party would not start. "The mode which they have shown me was a very simple one. The leader of the intended war party simply cuts two thin chips of wood about the size of the thumb-nail, and holding them lightly together between his finger and thumb lets them fall on the ground from the height of 18 inches or so; if the chips fall and lie close together on the ground, the omen is favourable and the party start. If the chips fall far apart, then they put off the expedition to another day. I believe they have other modes of divination which they would not show as they were evidently averse to talking on the subject, and very reluctantly explained their chip system."² This reluctance to explain the form of divination coincides with Stewart's statement that omens were employed with express religious intention, a statement very significant for the origin of practices common alike to the primitive savage and the European peasant.

Festivals.—There is at present the scantiest evidence concerning the festivals of the Nágá ritual year. The great Angami tribe celebrate two chief village festivals, the *Sekrenge* held shortly before the new year's work in the fields is begun, and the *Terhengi*

¹ Brown, p. 32; ? village, as it stands in McCulloch from which Brown takes the above (McCulloch, p. 70).

² P. T. Carnegie, Official paper quoted by Sir A. Mackenzie, Appendix C, p. 403.

or Harvest Home. At the *Sekrengi* dogs (a favourite Nága food) are killed and eaten in large numbers. At the *Terhengi* great *Infra*, s.v. feasts are given by wealthy Nágas. The Angámi also Angámis. have many minor festivals during the year, the chief of these being that held just before the paddy harvest begins. Among the Aos, three chief yearly festivals are enumerated, two of which occur in August, before the commencement of the A. C. R., harvest, and one at the close of the harvest; the 1891, p. 244. *mithán* (presumably *mithun*, viz., wild cow), slain for these festivals were killed by hacking with *daos* (Nága hatchet-swords), the animal finally dying from loss of blood. At the second Ao festival in August, which lasts three days, the apparent survival of tribal marriage, already noticed, is A. C. R., enacted. Among the Lhota "the chief festivals, 1891, p. 248. as amongst the other tribes, are those after harvest and before the commencement of the new year's cultivation." Among the Sema of the present day, the principal village A. C. R., festivals are those that occur after the conclusion of 1891, p. 247. the rice harvest, and before the commencement of the new cultivation. Men who wish to obtain fame by feasting their fellow villagers, usually do so at the harvest home festival (as among the Angámi). We have no details as to the rites performed at these festivals.¹

With the Luhupas one month is marked by a ritual of the Brown, dead. Once every year in December each village p. 42. held a solemn festival in honour of those of their number who had died during the preceding year. The village priests conducted the ceremonies, which culminated on a night when the moon was young. On this occasion, it was said, the spirits of the dead appeared at a distance from the village, in the faint moonlight, wending their way slowly over the hills, and driving before them the victims slain, or the cattle stolen during their lives; the procession disappeared over the distant hills, amidst the wailings of the villagers.²

Funeral rites.—The Nága funeral rites are in full harmony with the fierce and warlike nature of these tribes. To the Nága the obligations of blood feud extended, beyond the slaying of visible enemies, to defiance of the unseen power:—"Than thou Spirit who destroyest our friends in our own presence we have no greater enemy . . . Whither hast thou fled?" A

¹ Dr. Brown, p. 31, says that the Mao and Maram tribes had two festivals in the year, "like the two principal ones" of the Kabuis; as he does not specify the two Kabui festivals which have pre-eminence in his account of that tribe, we are not much enlightened.

² Dr. Brown adds, "Unless the village priests are well fed, it is said this appearance will not take place." He says that this is the only stated time for holding a festival, among the Luhupas.

funeral witnessed some sixty years ago shows the elaborate nature of this challenge, although ending in the sign of Hindu influence, the cremation of the dead. The writer, a Baptist Missionary, says, "This day was the completion of the sixth month after the death of a wife of one of the chiefs. Their custom is to allow the corpse to remain six months in the house; at the expiration of which time the ceremonies I have this day witnessed must be performed." In the morning buffaloes, hogs, and fowls were killed. About noon Nágás in war equipment, and fancifully dressed, arrived from neighbouring villages. They marched to the house where the body lay, and began to sing and dance, singing in the Abor tongue. Branson's interpreter told him all their songs were borrowed from the Abors, with whom they hold daily intercourse. The substance of the song was as follows: "What divinity has taken away our friend? Who are you? Where do you live? In heaven, or on the earth, or under the earth? Who are you? Show yourself. If we had known of your coming we would have speared you." This was first pronounced by the chorister. The whole company then answered it by exclaiming "yes," at the same time waving their huge glittering spears towards heaven in defiance of the evil spirit who was supposed to have occasioned the death. The chorister continues: "We would have cut you in pieces and eaten your flesh." "Yes," responded the warriors, brandishing their daos.¹ "If you had apprised us of your coming and asked our permission we would have revered you; but you have secretly taken one of us and now we will curse you." "Yes," responded the warriors. The above was the substance of what they sang, though varied and repeated many times. The noise of music and dancing was continued nearly all night. During the greater part of the following day the same ceremonies were repeated. At the setting of the sun a large company of young women came round the corpse and completely covered it with leaves and flowers, after which it was carried to a small hill near by and burnt amid the festivities of the people.²

The following account published ten years later adds some further details, and a few heightened touches to the vigour of the challenge. The monthly partaking by the dead man of food at the hands of the living is a striking example of primi-

¹ In the account *daos*, obviously the same weapon as *dao*.

² Robinson, "Assam," 1841, p. 397, quoting an account by the Rev. M. Branson, published in a Baptist Missionary magazine of 1839. Dalton, p. 40, citing Robinson rather confusedly, refers this account to some one of the eastern border villages.

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tive commensal ritual; the seclusion observed immediately after death already referred to, and the strong taboo protecting the bier are also noteworthy. For three or four days after a death the relatives did not leave the village, neither did other villagers resort to the village where a death had occurred during that period. When a man died after a long illness a platform was raised within his house, on which the body was placed folded in clothes. By night and day the body was watched with great care, and when decomposition began quantities of spirits were thrown over it; and whatever the deceased was in the habit of eating and drinking in his lifetime (such as rice, vegetables, and spirit) was placed once a month on the ground before it.¹ The virtues of the dead were frequently rehearsed; and the heirs and relatives made lamentation for many months after the death. At the expiration of the period of mourning a great feast of liquor, rice, and buffaloes and cows' flesh was prepared, and an immense number of armed Nágá in war dress assembled to partake of it. They commenced the festival by repeating the name of the deceased, singing many kinds of songs, dancing, and cursing the deity or spirit who had slain their comrade. "If to-day we could see you, we would with these swords and spears kill you. Yes, we would eat your flesh! yes, we would drink your blood! yes, we would burn your bones in the fire! you have slain our relatives. Where have you fled to? why did you kill our friend? show yourself now, and we shall see what your strength is. Come quickly,—to-day, and we shall see you with our eyes, and with our swords cut you in pieces, and eat you raw. Let us see how sharp your sword is, and with it we will kill you. Look at our spears, see how sharp they are: with them we will spear you. Whither now art thou fled? than thou, spirit, who destroyest our friends in our presence, we have no greater enemy. Where are you now?—whither hast thou fled?"² With these and similar speeches and songs they clashed their weapons, and danced and eat and drank throughout the night. The next day the body was folded up in a cloth, and placed on a new platform four or five feet high; and all the weapons of the dead, his rice dish, and bamboo for water, everything used by him in his lifetime, was arranged round the bier, which was held sacred; no one dared to touch a single thing thus consecrated. After this

¹ Dr. E. B. Tylor, quoting this account, says: "Nágá tribes of Assam celebrated their funeral feasts month by month, laying food and drink on the graves of the departed." ("Primitive Culture," vol. ii, p. 32.) I cannot find any mention of this practice on the *graves*, the above usage is *before* the final funeral rites.

² The original is quoted verbatim.

ceremony was concluded the people dispersed.¹ In a somewhat similar account of Angámi rites, the men in their war dress strike the earth with their weapons; perhaps indicating the under-world nature of the death spirit. The union of the living and the dead in a common feast seems emphasised by the following Luhupa usage, since the single portion placed beneath the dead does not look like any committal of cattle as wealth in the after-world:—on the death of a Luhupa it was once the custom to make human sacrifices; this was not permitted later, under Manipur rule, and instead cattle were sacrificed before the corpse could be buried. The cattle sacrificed were eaten, with the exception of one leg, which was buried under the head of the deceased. From the details of a modern Angámi funeral, which will be found in a later chapter, it would seem that various forms of eating together constitute the chief acts of the long ceremonial. On the first day after death a distribution of meat is made among the relations and friends of the deceased. The next day, after the burial, friends and relations, and one man of another *khel*, go to the house of the dead, and eat parts of the meat which had been reserved on the previous day, and each member of the deceased's *khel*, in perfect silence, throws a piece of liver out of the house to a distance of some eight paces, these pieces of liver having been cooked by members of another *khel* who are present. On the next day, the second that is after the burial, seventeen portions of cooked rice are tied up in leaves, and these are buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day the platter and cup of the deceased are hung up in the house, till thirty days have expired, when they are given to a friend of their former owner. About the fortieth day the deceased's family sacrificed a cock, of which the flesh is eaten equally by all. The funeral ceremonies are then complete.² Ample provision was made by the Nágas for the needs of their dead. A portion of the funeral feast was placed in the grave, as we have seen, by the Luhupas; they also buried spears and daos with the body. The North Kachar

¹ "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," vol. ii, 1848, p. 234.

² In a short paper on "The North Kachar Hills," Mr. Damant speaks as though a funeral sacrifice was made to the dead, but I am aware of no other explicit mention of such a custom:—"Occasionally a stake may be seen fixed in the street in front of a house, from which hangs the skull of a freshly killed metna or buffalo; this is a sign that a death has taken place, and the beast has been sacrificed. To a very rich man three or four buffaloes will be sacrificed, to a very poor man only a pig, while in all cases as many of the neighbours as possible are feasted." Dalton, p. 40, mentions the large number of animals killed at the funeral of a person of consideration.

G. H. Nágás liked, if they could, to get an Angámi dao to
 Damant, be buried with them, and Mr. Damant saw several
 Report, &c. kept for this purpose in different houses; doubtless
 on Tour in a weapon belonging to this powerful warrior tribe
 N. Kachar was held to be peculiarly efficacious in the conflicts
 Hills, 1875. of the after-world. These Nágás also buried salt and a large
 supply of provisions with the dead;¹ the warrior's spear and dao
 Stewart, were buried with him; and to them the custom is
 p. 615. attributed of placing in the grave any article to
 which the dead were specially attached. We have seen in
 an early account that everything used by the dead man in his
 lifetime was left upon the bier. Angámi usage placed on a
 woman's grave her clothes, ornaments and necklaces, weav-
Infra, s.v. ing shuttle and spinning stick for cotton, cotton
 Angámis. thread, dhan, grain, and pestle and mortar for clearing
 rice.

A curious custom accompanied the death of a Luhupa which
 in form is similar to the Hindu rite of striking the head to
 Brown, allow the spirit to escape. "On the death of a
 p. 41. warrior, his nearest male relation takes a spear and
 wounds the corpse by a blow with it on the head, so that on his
 arrival in the next world he may be known and received with
 distinctions."

The custom of strewing flowers over the dead and upon the
 grave strikes a note strangely at variance with savage rites
 which seem so consonant with the wild nature of these tribes.
 On the death of an aged Khonbao (presumably some holder of
 office), an elephant and three hundred buffaloes and pigs were
 killed, and a great feast took place. "The usual custom of re-
 viling the deity while singing, and dancing was kept up with
 uncommon fervour." The heads of the slaughtered animals
 "Jour. Ind. were suspended round the platform within a large
 Arch.," ii, enclosure; and the body was strewn over with an
 p. 230. abundant supply of all kinds of forest flowers.
 The wild funeral rites witnessed by Mr. Branson, which were
 celebrated for the wife of a chief, concluded, as we have seen,
 by the approach, at sunset, of a large company of young
 women who completely covered the body with leaves and flowers.
 A. C. R., The late Census Report notes that flowers are very
 1891, p. 248. often put up over a Lhota's grave. Stewart,
 writing of the North Kachar Nágás forty years ago, speaks of
 the affection shown in tending newly-made graves; protecting
 fences were at first invariably raised, and flowers were often
 scattered.

¹ G. H. Damant, *Official Diary of Tour in North Kachar Hills, 1875.*

Great variety seems to have obtained as to the manner of disposing of the body. Interment, tree burial, exposure, and (doubtless Hindu) cremation are all recorded. The more eastern Nágás nearly all exposed their dead upon bamboo platforms, leaving the body to decay; the skull was preserved in the bone house to be found in nearly every village. Dalton describes a custom of placing the bones of the dead in miniature houses in the shade of groves carefully planted at the approaches to the village; the bodies were first placed in wooden coffins, like boats, and exposed suspended to trees outside the village till completely dessicated, after which the obsequies took place.¹

The custom of the Aos of the present day is to leave the body on a platform in the cemetery without the village gate. The body, placed in a coffin, is smoked for a period extending from ten days to two months; then the coffin, over A. C. R., 1891, p. 245. which is laid one of the dead man's cloths, is taken out and placed on a bamboo platform in the village cemetery. "On the machân, along with the coffin, are hung a man's eating-plate and drinking cup, while in front in a row are arranged the heads he has taken and close to these his shield and spear are placed." If the body is not smoked, it is placed in the cemetery as soon after death as possible. The cemeteries invariably occupy one side of the main road leading to the village gate. The Ao coffin is a structure of bamboo and thatch, shaped somewhat like a house.

The "naked Nágás" also do not bury the dead, but with them tree burial is in use. After being smoked for ten or twenty days the body is put in a wooden coffin, A. C. R., 1891, p. 246. and placed in the fork of a big tree just outside the village gate. In the case of men of distinction, after the smoking process, the head is removed and placed in an earthen pot; this pot is then neatly thatched over with *tokâ pát*, and deposited at the foot of the tree in which the coffin containing the body is placed.

Passing to the burial customs, the Nágás of North Kachar were described as burying their dead at the very doors of their houses, in a coffin made of a hollow tree trunk; a large stone was rolled over the top of the grave, and most, if not all, of the village streets were full of these unhewn tombstones. Mr. Damant describes some of the stones erected to the dead which strewed he village road, as exactly resembling an ancient British cromlech

¹ Dalton, p. 40, speaks of the bones being preserved in these little houses, or buried.

on a small scale ; they were supported by three or four smaller stones placed as uprights. "The Nagas," he adds, "calculate the greatness of their ancestors by the size of their tombstones. One Naga in showing his grandfather's grave was most proud to tell that it cost more to bring it to its place than any other tombstone in the village."¹ The descendants of those to whom the stones are erected sit there in the evening, and drink their Stewart, rice-beer. According to Stewart there was no sense p. 615. of taboo over even a newly-made grave, the survivors delighting to sit on the stones covering the bodies of their A. C. R., friends. The Semás of the present day bury the 1891, p. 247. dead, as a rule, just outside the dead man's house ; over the grave are put up his spear, and shield, and the skulls of any cows that may have been killed for the funeral feast. Children dying within ten days of birth are buried inside the house. Women dying in child-birth are buried without any ceremony being observed.

The Luhupa dead were buried in deep graves ; all who died of Brown, disease were buried inside the village precincts, but p. 41. those who died in battle, or by wild animals, were buried in one place out of the village. The report of 1854 says of the Rengmas, that they "inter their dead and place the Mills, deceased's spear in the grave, and his shield, a few p. cxxix. sticks with some eggs and grain on the grave, and the funeral ceremonies conclude with lamentations and feasting." The Lhotas of the present day bury the dead within a A. C. R., pace or two of the front door of the house ; after the 1891, p. 248. burial a fire is often kept burning for several days over a man's grave ; the skulls of cattle killed for the funeral feast are put up over it.

According to an early account of Nágá funeral ceremonies, sudden death was held to be unfortunate ; if illness ended "Jour. Ind. fatally after one or two months, the time was still Arch.," ii, too short to be "lucky," and the body was instantly 1848, p. 234. removed to a platform four or five feet high in the jungles where it was left to decay.

After-world beliefs.—Of Nágá beliefs concerning the after-world little is known.² Inferences may be drawn from some of the funeral rites, such as the dead man's need of salt, provisions, and efficient arms, and the monthly food put for him during the long interval before the last funeral rites.

Dalton, The more eastern Nágás are described as believing p. 41. in a future state in which the present existence is

¹ G. H. Damant, "Calcutta Review," vol. lxi.

² Robinson, "Assam," asserts that the Nágás have some faint notions of the immortality of the soul, but gives no proofs.

continued. The Luhupa idea of a future state was, that after death they went to the west, where there was another world; in this future state they lived and died, the men six times and the women five. After this they were turned into clouds, remaining in that condition. The people killed by a Luhupa became his slaves in the next world.¹ The nature of the life they lead in a future state they could not explain. It is this tribe who, as we have seen, hold that on one night in the year the dead may be seen passing over the distant hills, driving before them slain men and stolen cattle.

To the south-west from the whole of the Semá country parallel and horizontal lines are very plainly to be seen, marking the stratification of the rocks in the east side of the Wokha hill. These rock lines are called Kitilá, or dead man's road, and are said to be the path leading to the village of the dead. Where this village is no man can say, but that it exists all believe.

NOTE.—It may be noted that the late Sir J. Johnstone found no signs of any prevalent snake worship among the Nágás or Manipuri. He says, under heading of the Angámi Nágás, "Naga is a name given by the inhabitants, of the plains, and in the Assamese language means 'naked.' As some of the Naga tribes are seen habitually in that state, the name was arbitrarily applied to them all. It is the greatest mistake to connect them with the snake worshippers, "Nag Bungsees" of India. Neither Nagas or Manipuris, or any tribes on the eastern frontier, are addicted to this worship, or have any traditions connected with it, and any snake, cobra (Nag) or otherwise, would receive small mercy at their hands. The slightest personal acquaintance with the Assamese and their language, would have dispelled this myth for ever." In a letter received shortly before his death, he wrote to me: "It may interest you to hear that I totally disbelieve in any trace of snake worship in Assam or Manipur except in possible cases of its being recently imported—I never saw a trace of it." McCulloch, writing in 1859, gives two instances of a snake god among the Manipuri.

I regret that two papers on the Nágá tribes read before the Institute, by Colonel Woodthorpe in 1881, and published in the Journal of the Institute, 1882; and a paper published by Captain Butler under the title of "Rough Notes on the Angámi Nágás," in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, have come to my notice too late for the above pages to have the benefit of information contained in them.

(To be continued.)

¹ Robinson says that on the death of a Nágá warrior all the scalps taken by him during his lifetime were burnt with his remains. This would seem to refer to villages that had come under Hindú influence; the intention may have been to let the dead man be accompanied by these other dead.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND NEW BOOKS.

Readers of the Journal are invited to communicate any new facts of especial interest which come under their notice. Short abstracts of, or extracts from letters will be published at the discretion of the Editor. Letters should be marked "Miscellanea" and addressed to The Secretary, 3, Hanover Square, W.

A Vocabulary of various Dialects used in New Georgia, Solomon Islands. Compiled by Lieutenants B. T. Somerville and S. C. Weigall, R.N., H.M.S. *Penguin*, 1893-4-5, Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, 1896. Fcap. 36 pages.

This work makes a valuable addition to our knowledge of the northern dialects of the Solomon Islands, the only previously existing data for the languages of New Georgia being short vocabularies in Dr. Codrington's "Melanesian Languages," and in Mr. C. M. Woodford's "Naturalist among the Head Hunters." Of the nine dialects of the island, four are here illustrated. These are the Rubiana or Roviahana of the south-west lagoon; the Marovo, used by the coast natives everywhere, except on Rendova Island; the Mbariki of the bush natives in the Mbariki peninsula; and the Hoava of the bush natives on the north-east side of the Kusage hills.

As usual with languages in this part of the Solomon Islands, the vocabularies show many differences, even in common words, and there is not much agreement with languages in the south-eastern portion of the Solomon group. There are, no doubt, some agreements with even such a characteristically Melanesian language as that of Florida, but they are not very prominent, and in no way suggest a connection between the languages. Neither do the exceptional words in New Georgia suggest a connection with such languages as the Savo or the Alu of Treasury Island, though there are a few agreements with the Simbo of Eddystone Island.

The variation of language in the Northern Solomon Islands may be illustrated by the numerals.

	NEW GEORGIA.				Savo.	TRRASURY Is.
	Marovo.	Rubiana	Mbariki.	Hoava.		Alu.
1	<i>meka</i> ...	<i>tasa, keke</i>	<i>meka</i> ...	<i>keke</i> ...	<i>ela</i> ...	<i>kala, ilia.</i>
2	<i>karua</i> ...	<i>tarua</i> ...	<i>karua</i> ...	<i>karua</i> ...	<i>edo</i> ...	<i>elua.</i>
3	<i>hike</i> ...	<i>neta</i> ...	<i>hike</i> ...	<i>hike</i> ...	<i>igiva</i> ...	<i>episa.</i>
4	<i>mandi</i> ...	<i>mandi</i> ...	<i>mbuto</i> ...	<i>mandi</i> ...	<i>agava</i> ...	<i>efate.</i>
5	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>ara</i> ...	<i>lima.</i>
6	<i>onomo</i> ...	<i>onomo</i> ...	<i>onomo</i> ...	<i>onomo</i> ...	<i>pogoa</i> ...	<i>onomo.</i>
7	<i>njuapa</i> ...	<i>njuapa</i> ...	<i>njuapa</i> ...	<i>njuapa</i> ...	<i>pogoro</i> ...	<i>fito.</i>
8	<i>veshu</i> ...	<i>veshu</i> ...	<i>vesu</i> ...	<i>veshu</i> ...	<i>kui</i> ...	<i>alu.</i>
9	<i>sia</i> ...	<i>sia</i> ...	<i>sia</i> ...	<i>sia</i> ...	<i>kuava</i> ...	<i>ulia.</i>
10	<i>nangguru</i>	<i>manege</i> ...	<i>nanguru</i>	<i>nanguru</i>	<i>tale</i> ...	<i>lafulu.</i>

	EDDYSTONE Is.	Buka.	MALANTA.	YSABEL.		Florida.
	Simbo.		Saa.	Bugotu.	Nggao.	
1	<i>kami</i> ...	<i>ha-tua</i> ...	<i>ta</i> ...	<i>sikei, keha</i>	<i>kahe, tasa</i>	<i>sakai, keha.</i>
2	<i>karu</i> ...	<i>ha-tuel</i> ...	<i>rue</i> ...	<i>rua</i> ...	<i>palu</i> ...	<i>rua.</i>
3	<i>kue</i> ...	<i>to-pisa</i> ...	<i>olu</i> ...	<i>tolu</i> ...	<i>tolu</i> ...	<i>tolu.</i>
4	<i>manti</i> ...	<i>to-hats</i> ...	<i>hai</i> ...	<i>vati</i> ...	<i>fati</i> ...	<i>vati.</i>
5	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>to-lima</i> ...	<i>lime</i> ...	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>lima</i> ...	<i>lima.</i>
6	<i>wauama</i> ...	<i>to-num</i> ...	<i>ono</i> ...	<i>famno</i> ...	<i>ono</i> ...	<i>ono.</i>
7	<i>witu</i> ...	<i>to-hid</i> ...	<i>hiu</i> ...	<i>vitu</i> ...	<i>fafitu</i> ...	<i>vitu.</i>
8	<i>kalu</i> ...	<i>to-wal</i> ...	<i>walu</i> ...	<i>alu</i> ...	<i>fehu</i> ...	<i>halu.</i>
9	<i>siang</i> ...	<i>to-si</i> ...	<i>sive</i> ...	<i>hia</i> ...	<i>fahia</i> ...	<i>hiua.</i>
10	<i>manosa</i> ...	<i>maloto</i> ...	<i>tangakulu</i>	<i>salage</i> ...	<i>faboto</i> ...	<i>hangavulu.</i>

In this table the Saa, Bugotu, and Florida may be taken to represent the usual Melanesian forms.

The pronouns vary in a similar way.

Marovo, *raka*; Rubiana and Hoava, *arao* = I. Marovo and Hoava, *hoi*; Rubiana, *agoi*; Mbariki, *ho* = You. Marovo and Rubiana, *ia* = He. Marovo, *Kami* = Ye.

The possessive agrees with the Florida preposition *ta*, and has the usual suffixed pronouns, followed by the personal pronoun, as in Marovo *ta-ngu-raka*, my; *ta-m-hoi*, thy, your; *ta-n-ia*, his.

The vocabulary is followed by several pages of phrases and sentences, which will give some idea of the construction of the language, and be of use to the explorer or missionary who may have occasion to study the language more thoroughly.

This is not the first illustration of Melanesian languages for which we are indebted to officers of the Royal Navy surveying in the Pacific Ocean. The example set by Lieutenants Somerville and Weigall is one which, if more generally followed, could not fail to be of great service to Anthropological and Linguistic Science.

S. H. RAY.

A Paumotuan Dictionary with Polynesian Comparatives.

By Edward Tregear. Wellington, New Zealand. 1895. 8vo. 160 pages.

In this work Mr. Tregear gives a very interesting collection of words in the language of the Dangerous or Low Archipelago, eastward of Tahiti in Central Polynesia. The interest of this language consists in the very remarkable differences between the vocabulary and that of other Polynesian languages, although the Mangarevan of the adjacent Gambia group differs very little from such typical languages as Maori or Tahitian. By printing opposite the Paumotuan words, comparatives from the other dialects, and leaving blank spaces opposite to those for which he could find no equivalents, Mr. Tregear has made it easy for the student to distinguish the non-Polynesian element in the language.

The exceptional words may be roughly divided into two classes, viz.: those which are used to a limited extent in neighbouring languages, though they differ from the usual Polynesian, and those which have no known Polynesian equivalents. To the former belong such words as *nohi*, eye, the Maori *kanohi*; *teke*, flower or fruit, Marquesan, *teke*, sprout; *veku*, hair, Tahitian *veu*. To the latter belong such words as *asrotika*, fire, *heka*, road, *pepenu*, head, *makoi*, man. So far as can be ascertained this latter class of words show little agreement with any current in other parts of Oceania. The word *kakai*, fable, is the Banks' Island *kakae*; *kai*, mussel, may be the Fiji *kai*. There may be a few agreements with uncommon words in other parts, as in the words *komo*, Ysabel *kumi*, water; *ngora*, Ysabel *goilo*, New Georgia, *nohara*, cocoanut; *ngorengore*, Savo, *korakora*, New Georgia, *korekore*, peel; *kuokuo*, Motu New Guinea, *kurokuro*, white; *neki*, New Georgia, *nika*, Santa Cruz, *gnie*, fire; *vakivaki*, white, *kavake*, moon, Ysabel, *vega*, white. It is of course impossible to form any theory as to the origin of the strange element in the Paumotuan language from such isolated coincidences as these, but they illustrate a fact which is of some importance when dealing philologically with the question whether the present occupants of Polynesia and Melanesia are the original inhabitants. It is remarkable that wherever in a Melanesian language words are found which differ from those in general use throughout Oceania, these words very rarely agree with the exceptional words in another language. Take for example the exceptional languages of Santa Cruz and Nifilole, in Central Melanesia, Savo and Alu in the Solomon Islands, and the words for sun, moon, bird, and egg. We have the following forms:—

	Sun.	Moon.	Bird.	Egg.
Santa Cruz	<i>nanga</i>	<i>tema</i>	<i>kio</i>	<i>li</i> .
Nifilole	<i>le</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>deguluo</i> ..	<i>nuolie</i> .
Savo	<i>kuli</i>	<i>kuge</i>	<i>kosu</i>	<i>sii</i> .
Alu	<i>felo</i>	<i>ilala</i>	<i>maruka</i>	<i>erun</i> .
Melanesian	<i>alo</i>	<i>vula</i>	<i>manu</i> ..	<i>toliu</i> .

It will be observed that with the exception of the words *maruka* and *nuolie*, which may be the Melanesian *manu* and *tolu*, these are different from the usual words, and also have no likeness to one another. Such facts suggest the probability of the Oceanic Islands having once been inhabited by people speaking various distinct languages, and that they have since been colonized by a race speaking dialects of a common language, the simple structure of which has obliterated those with more complex forms.

It is worth notice that in New Guinea, where languages are found very different from the Melanesian, these also show little likeness to one another in vocabulary, and in places where they have borrowed Melanesian words or grammatical forms, the Melanesian element is the only common feature. It is therefore probable that in the non-Melanesian languages of New Guinea we have remaining languages of similar structure to those which were formerly more widely spread in the Oceanic region; and that there are still found in varying quantity among the Melanesian and Polynesian dialects remains of the dissimilar vocabularies of former inhabitants of the islands. Viewed thus the Paumotu is the Polynesian dialect which has preserved most of the archaic element, and thus the labour which Mr. Tregear has expended upon this dictionary cannot fail to be of value to the student of Oceanic languages.

S. H. RAY.

The Chin Hills: A History of the People, our dealings with them, their customs and manners, and a Gazetteer of their country, by Bertram S. Carey, C.I.E., Assistant Commissioner, Burma, and H. N. Tuck, Extra Assistant Commissioner. Rangoon. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1896. Vol. i. 8vo. 236 pages.

This book calls to mind Mr. Read's resolution passed at the British Association this year, and makes one reflect how much might be done for Ethnology by the British Empire if the intelligent interest of its administrators in the peoples they govern were systematically organised. For here we have a very admirable piece of work carried out, apparently with the support of the Chief Commissioner of Burma, by two political officers in the hill country to the north-west of that great Dependency. The first part of the book deals principally with the history of our political relations with the country. But in the second part, devoted to "Manners and Customs," the authors give a very circumstantial account of the Chin tribes in their habit as they live, so much so that with the additional aid of photo etchings of quite exceptional ethnographic merit, the reader feels on laying the volume down that the Chin Hills have become a familiar country. We are presented with a picture of barbarous society, one side of which finds a parallel in the old feudalism of Europe, but a feudalism devoid of chivalry, in which the right of private

war means the right of treacherously raiding one's neighbour, and in which the murder of a defenceless foe is a doughty feat of arms. Of the various tribes of the Chins, all allied to the Kuki family, the Siyins appear to bear the worst character for treachery in a land where "all are drunkards, liars and thieves." The practice of headhunting, the result of universal blood feuds, was especially prevalent among them. Here it may be noted that the Chins do not, like the Dyaks, keep the skulls of their enemies in their houses, but place them on poles outside, fearing the malign influence of the indwelling spirits: trophies of animal skulls are, on the contrary, to be found in most verandahs. Of the other tribes, the Hakas, Tashons, Shunklas and Soktes, the first are noted for avarice, the second for political sense and diplomatic cunning.

Good illustrations of Chin houses and villages are given, and there is a plan of a typical house at p. 176. Most Chins have both a town and a country house. The methods pursued in hunting and agriculture are carefully described: neither in tilling nor transport are cattle employed. Burial and marriage customs differ slightly in the different tribes. The Chins resemble the Dyaks and other Eastern peoples in their attention to omens and in the practice of divination by examining the liver of animals.

Their beliefs are those of all races at an early stage of culture: the propitiation of spirits forms a principal part of their religion. Spirits are powerless for good, but active in evil; disease is their work, or that of wizards through whose agency foreign bodies are introduced into the system, taking the form of lizards, rats, balls of hair or string.

The chapters on "Civil and Criminal Laws"; the "Position of the Chiefs in regard to the people, slaves and slavery"; and on "Raids and Methods of Warfare," offer material of much interest. The universal habit of drunkenness is a modifying factor in the execution of customary law. A point worthy of remark with relation to civil law is that among the Siyins and Soktes the youngest son alone succeeds to the paternal estate, while amongst other tribes the eldest does so; this is not the only point in which the customs of the North and South Chin Hills materially differ.

There is much that is ethnographically of interest in this volume. Objects worthy of mention are the brass hair-pins or skewers worn in the hair by the Hakas, used with deadly effect as weapons in drunken quarrels; the women's water-pipes, used to prepare "nicotine water" for the men; a kind of "knuckle-duster" used as a concealed weapon by the Southern Chins, and producing scars on the face which are considered as glorious as the scars of a German student; the heavy brass or iron girdle 3-10 lbs. in weight worn by women to keep the cotton skirt in position; the tribal tartans; and the various weapons of offence and defence.

There is unfortunately no map on a large scale, but the twenty-five full-page permanent illustrations, from photographs

by Surgeon-Major Newland and Sergeant Sinclair, of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, have already been noticed as being of particular excellence. The grouping and general treatment are admirable. Ethnologists will look forward with interest to a continuation of the fruitful labours of Messrs. Carey and Tuck.

The Antichrist Legend: A chapter in Christian and Jewish Folk Lore. Englished from the German of W. Bousset, with a Prologue on the Babylonian Dragon Myth, by A. H. Keane. Small 8vo. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1896.

Bousset's book is a guide to Early Christian and Mediæval Apocalyptic Literature. But Bousset himself, though aware that the Antichrist Legend might be traced back to a very early date in the history of humanity, did not carry it further than about the dawn of the New Era. The investigations of Gunkel took it to Babylon; but there yet remained a lacuna to fill, and to this we owe Mr. Keane's interesting and suggestive Prologue. The derivation of Antichrist from Tiamat or Tiawat, "The Dragon of Chaos" of the Akkadians, leads on to a yet more ancient and material prototype among the Saurians of the Lower Mesopotamian Plains such as they were known and encountered by primitive man. "We now begin to understand the peculiar form assumed by the Semitic account of the Creation, which is itself based on earlier Akkadian traditions."

The Antichrist Legend has therefore a very long pedigree. "It carries us back to the primeval conditions under which it grew up and crystallized into later national mythologies. These conditions were here, as elsewhere, the circumstances incident to the struggle of primitive man with his surroundings. Thus also the weird story of the Antichrist Legend is completed in its three successive phases—from the New Era to Mediæval times, a millennium (Bousset); from Babylonia to the New Era, four millenniums (Gunkel); from the Stone Ages to Babylonia, as here suggested, many millenniums." p. xxiv.

The whole subject provides an instructive example of the life-history of a myth, and Mr. Keane is to be congratulated on presenting it to the English public in such an accessible and attractive form.

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